MUHAMMAD SHAH
(1719-1748)

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
ZAHIRUDDIN MALIK

Under the Supervision of
PROF. SH. A. RASHID

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
OCTOBER, 1958

C O N T E N T S.

Preface. i-xvi

Introduction. 1-33

1.Rival Political Factions. 2. Challenge to the Empire. 3. Marathas. 4. Repression and Reconcilation of Rajput Rajas. 5. The Jats. 6. The Bundelas. 7. Suppression of the Sikhs. 8. Deposition of Farrukh-Siyar.

Chapter I. 34-63

Accession and Early Years.

1. Early Life. 2. Accession. 3. His Relations with the Saiyid brothers. 4. Compromise with Raja Jai Singh. 5. Revolt of Raja Chabella Ram and Peace made with Girdhar Bahadur. 6. Conflict between Nizamul Mulk and Saiyid brothers. 7. The Revolt of Nizamul Mulk. 8. Nizamul Mulk's victory over Dilawar Ali Khan. 9. Defeat and Death of Aslam Ali Khan.

Chapter II. 64-91.

The Fall of the Saiyid Brothers.

1. Assassination of Husain Ali Khan. 2. Battle of Hasanpur. 3. The Character of the Saiyid brothers. 4. The Wizarat of Muhammad Amin Khan.

Chapter III. 92-111.

The Wizarat of Nizamul Mulk,1721-1724.

1. Opposition of Kokiji to his Reforms.

Chapter IV. 112-135.

Nizamul Mulk in the Deccan, 1724-1732.

1. Nizamul Mulk's victory over Mubariz Khan. 2. His interference in the affairs of Gujrat.

3. His secret Pact with the Peshwa.

Chapter V. 136-167.

Expansion of Maratha Power.

1. Gujrat. 2. Malwa. 3. Bundelkhand. 4. Maratha incursions on the Eastern Provinces.

Chapter VI. 168-186.

Rajputana, Rohilkhand and the Punjab.

1. The Revolt of Raja Ajit Singh. 2. Rise of Raja Jai Singh. 3. His Relations with the Marathas. 4. Fails to create unity among Rajput Chiefs. 5. Rohilkhand. 6. Punjab.

Chapter VII. 187-237.

Foreign Invasions.

Nadir Shah's invasion. 1. The Frontier Provinces under Muhammad Shah. 2. The Real Motives of his invasion. 3. The invasion. 4. Causes of the Indian Defeat. 5. Aftermath. 6. Ascendency of Persian Faction in the Imperial Court. 7. The invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Chapter VIII. 238-267.

Administration.

1. Revenue Administration. 2. Jagir System. 3. Trade and Industries. 4. The Army - Character and weapons and Methods of war.

Chapter IX. 268-307.

Society and Culture.

1. Social conditions. 2. Religious conditions. 3. Revival of Religious learning. 4. Different Orders of Sufism - Chishtiah. 5. Revival of the Silslah in the 18th Century. 6. Nizamuddin Aurangabadi. 7.

7. Shah Fakhruddin of Delhi. 8. Naqshbandi Silslah.
9. Shah Wali-Ullah. 10. Khwaja Mir Dard. 11.Mirza
Mazhar. 12. Literature, Growth of Urdu Literature.
13. Sauda. 14. Mir Dard. 15. Mir Taqi Mir. 16. Persian
Literature. 17. Music. 18. Astronomy and Astrology.
19. Architecture.

Chapter X. 308-320.

Character and estimate of Muhammad Shah.

Appendix - Bibliography.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S.

Ashob	Muhammad Baksh Ashob.
Ahwal	Ahwal-ul-Khaqaqin
Bayan	Bayan-i-Waqai
Duff	Grant Duff
Fathiya	Tarikh-i-Fathiya
Hadiqat	Hadiqat-ul-Alam
Hazin	Shaikh Hazin
Imad	Imad-us-Saadat
Ijad	Hasan Ijad
K.K.	Khafi Khan
Kamwar	Muhammad Hadi Khan Kamwar
Mukhlis	Anand Ram Mukhlis
M.U.	Maasir-ul-Umra
Riyaz	Riyas-us-Salatin.
Reu	B.P.Reu
S.P.D.	Selections from Peshwa Daftar
Siyar	Siyarul-Muta-Akhkhierin
T.M.	Tarikh-i-Muzaffari
Warid	Muhammad Shafi Warid.

P R E F A C E.

The reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-1748), constitutes an era of significant political and cultural developments in the history of the Mughul Empire. The imperial authority at Delhi which had begun to show signs of decline during the last years of Alamgir's reign virtually collapsed during this period. Law and order broke down, revenue administration went out of gear, the state treasury became deplete, and the army lost its morale. Foreign invasions further aggravated the situation and the anti-Mughul forces gathered momentum. The Marathas led their forces into the North with greater confidence and least fear of resistance. The provincial governors became restless and adopted a defiant attitude towards the Central authority. Centrifugal tendencies appeared in almost every sphere of political life. During this period again, foundations of those political religious and literary movements were laid which dominate the history of the succeeding period and shape its religious and political outlook.

Notwithstanding its great significance, no attempt has so far been made to write a comprehensive and connected account of the reign of Muhammad Shah, though some good studies have appeared dealing only with particular movements or events. Dr.Dighe's Peshwa Baji Rao represents the Maratha case in their long struggle with the Mughuls. Relying mainly on Marathi sources, the author has attempted to study the Maratha-Mughul relations. Dr.Srivastava's First Two Nawabs of Oudh and Dr.Khan's Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah, First, deal with the history of only two provinces of the

Empire. Notwithstanding the thoroughness and accuracy which characterise the study of his Later Mughuls, Irvine, has merely collected extracts from Persian texts and narrated the political events without trying to interpret them. He has not touched the social and cultural problems of the period, nor has he discussed the administrative and economic issues. The age of Muhammad Shah is important from the point of view of political upheavals, but the degenerate culture, religious revivalism and literary progress add their own interest to it. I have tried to make an exhaustive study of the history of this period, in all its aspects - political, economic, social, religious and cultural on the basis of original sources. I have surveyed political events and general conditions of the period from the foot of Muhammad Shah's throne. For it was in the Court and the camp that a historian has to look for the rapidly changing political and military changes as well the social, cultural and economic set upt of Indian society. The Patna, Haiderabad, Aligarh, and Sitamau libraries have yielded abundant material which had not so far been utilised for writing history of this period. This material may be classified as under:

1. Contemporary Persian Records:

   (a) Jaipur Papers i.e. collection of letters, Farmans, Arzdasts etc, relating to the history of the Empire in general, and Rajputana in particular.

   (b) Large number of original documents in the Asfia State Library and Daftar-i-Diwani of Haiderabad.

   (c) Manuscripts pertaining to political and cultural

history of the period in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore.

(d) Books relating to the Rohillas and the Afghans in the (Abdul-Salam and Subhan-allah Collections) M.U. Aligarh.

(e) Rotographs of relevant MSS. belonging to British Museum.

II. Selections from the Peshwa Daftar and Aetihasik Patra - Vyavahar (in Marathi).

III. Urdu and Persian Tazkirahs and Diwans composed during this period.

IV. Religious Literature - Works of Shah Wali-Ullah, Khwaja Mir Dard, Mulla Nizamuddin of Frangi Mahal, and of Shah Kalimullah and Shah Fakhruddin.

These works have been examined and utilized in the preparation of this work. The contemporary Urdu and Persian literature and religious works have been for the first time used here for historical purposes. They are a store-house of valuable information regarding not only political events but social and cultural matters. This literature has proved fruitful in correcting the views and reflections of most of the contemporary writers, who wrote for their patrons and criticised their rivals. A careful study of this source material has led to conclusions different from those derived from reading works by partisan writers.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to present a comprehensive account of the life of Muhammad Shah and the events of his reign. In introduction, a general survey of the conditions, political and economic, that pre-

vailed in India at the time of Muhammad Shah's accession has been made and the problems with which he was confronted have been discussed. The first two chapters deal with the Emperor's friction with the Saiyid brothers and their ultimate downfall. In the light of the newly discovered material, it has been proved that for Muhammad Shah there was no other alternative but to use the parties hostile to the Saiyids to bring about their downfall. The third and fourth chapters contain a detailed account of Nizamul Mulk, his Wizarat, his attempts to improve conditions of the government, his conflict with Muhammad Shah and the establishment of an independent Kingdom in the Deccan. The fifth chapter on Maratha expansion is based on a careful study of the contemporary Persian and Marathi sources. A fairly detailed account of Maratha invasions of Malwa, Gujrat, Bundelkhand, Bengal and Orissa and an estimate of their effects on the political set-up of the Empire has been attempted. It has been shown that the real motives of the Marathas were political and economic and not religious, and they miserably failed in establishing a stable power which could guarantee peace and order in the conquered territories. The question why the imperial armies, one after another, suffered crushing defeats at the hands of of the Marathas has been examined. It was generally held that Muhammad Shah was entirely responsible for this, but a careful study of the sources has proved that the corrupt and clique-ridden bureaucracy was the main cause of this. In the sixth chapter an attempt has been made to indicate the Mughul-Rajput relations and their bearing on the general history of the period; the rise of Raja Jai Singh, his rela-

tions with the Marathas, and his friendship with Samsam-ud-Daulah, the leader of the Indian party. That Raja Jai Singh assisted the Marathas against the government as he wanted their support in establishing his own independent state in Malwa has been carefully examined. The rise of the Rohillas and Muhammad Shah's expedition against their leader Ali Muhammad Khan have also been discussed in the same chapter. The seventh chapter deals with the foreign invasions. In this I have endeavoured to give an accurate and complete picture of political conditions and of Court life before the invasions took place, and have tried to explain that Saadat Khan Burhanul Mulk was to a great extent responsible for the ruin of Mughul army in the battle field of Karnal, and that Nizamul Mulk did not invite Nadir Shah to India, and Muhammad Shah kept diplomatic relations with Persian rulers before the rise of Nadir Shah. Many other controversial issued have also been discussed in it. The eighth chapter is exclusively devoted to a description of the various units of administrative system. Not only detailed account of the functioning of the departments is given but the causes of laxity have also been fully discussed. The ninth chapter deals with the social and religious conditions of the people, the growth of Urdu literature, the Persian literature, music, astronomy, architecture and painting. In the concluding chapter, an estimate of Muhammad Shah's character has been made and, the causes of the decline have been discussed.

New Source Material.

Jaipur Records.

The Jaipur Records constitute an invaluable source for political history of that period. I have used the Sitamau Transcriptions. They consist of letters exchanged between the Emperor and Raja Jai Singh on the one hand, and between the Raja and other chieftains of Rajputana on the other. With the help of this collection not only the history of Rajputana (Chapter 6) has been reconstructed but they have proved valuable in evaluating the career and achievements of Raja Jai Singh, his relations with the Emperor and Samsam-ud-Daulah, his campaigns against the Jats and the Bundelas, his role in Mughul - Maratha struggle and in examining his aspirations and ambitions. They provide the key to the study of the relations among different Rajas, their attempts to form unions against the Marathas, the Kota-Bundi struggle, the Marwar affairs and various battles fought between the Maratha and the Mughul forces in Malwa and the conduct of the governors in that province. These letters were written both in Persian and Rajhastini dialect in Nagri script.

Bal Mukand Namah (Patna Ms).

This is a collection of letters written by Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk to his brother Husain Ali Khan, Haider Ali Khan, Raja Ajit Singh and other officers. His Munshi, Deya Ram, collected and arranged them in the form of book. I discovered them in the Patna Library. They contain very useful information about the seige of Allahabad, and the armed conflict between the Saiyid brothers and Raja Girdhar

Bahadur in the first year of Muhammad Shah's reign. The book has since been published by the Department of History, M.U. Aligarh.

Khajista Kalam (Aligarh Ms).

This also is a collection of letters exchanged between Nawab Muhammad Khan Bangash and the Emperor, Nizamul Mulk, Nawab Qamruddin Khan and other ministers of the government. It is a mine of new information for this period. They primarily deal with the affairs of the Bundellas and the Rohillas, but also supply information relating to court intrigues and his stay in Malwa in the capacity of governor, and his interview with Nizamul Mulk.

Minshat-i-Mosvi Khan (Asfia Ms).

It consists of letters of Nizamul Mulk to Emperor Muhammad Shah, Raja Shahu, Baji Rao, Husain Ali Khan, Muhammad Khan Bangash and other nobles of the imperial court. These number several hundreds and were arranged and collected by Mir Muhammad Hashim entitled Mosvi Khan. His poetic name was Jurat. He was Mir Munshi of Asaf Jah and was responsible for drafting these letters. He was also careful in including several Farmans of the Emperor and the replies of the above-mentioned person in this collection. Mosvi Khan was well-versed in the art of letter-writing, and had direct contact with Nizamul Mulk. Once Nizamul Mulk introduced him to Muhammad Shah and stated that he was Abul Fazal of his times. On the basis of these letters I have been able to examine Nizam's relations with the Emperor, his cousin Muhammad Amin

Khan, Saiyid brothers and the Peshwa. They are also very useful for the information regarding Nizam's activities, campaigns and the administration in the Deccan. In one or two letters the Nizam explained the causes of administrative decline and political disturbances and suggested remedies for them.

Majma-ul-Insha.(Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms).

This collection consists of Farmans of Muhammad Shah which were issued to Nizamul Mulk and other officers. They were very useful for detailed information relating to civil and revenue administration.

Masir-i-Nizami.(Asfia Ms).

The author of this important work is Mansa Ram, son of Bhavani Das, grandson of Bal Kishan. He claims to have served the Asfia family for 30 years, and he wrote this work in 1200 H. This is very useful for the history of Nizamul Mulk - his early life, his relations with Jahandar Shah and Saiyid brothers, his revolt in Malwa and his alliance with Muhammad Amin Khan.

Sawaneh Deccan. (Asfia Ms).

It was written by Muhammad Munim Khan in 1197 H in the time of Mir Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur. It deals mainly with the accounts of the different Subas, towns and cities of the Deccan, the income from these areas, the chief production and the prevalent prices. It is also of supreme value for political events of the period.

Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. (Sitamau-Rotograph)

It is a contemporary record of great value written by Aitmad Ali Khan bin Aitmad Khan Alamgiri. He hailed from Ahmednagar, and passed the major part of his life there. Once he had toured in northern India and visited places like Delhi, Agra, and Allahabad, and he gives an account of the general conditions prevailing in these provinces. It is a diary of day today events and news concerning Gujrat and the capital of the Empire. It is from this work that we receive the information about the prices, taxes, mansabdari system, Muhammad Shah's daily routine and his relations with the nobles. He is the only author who gives information about the arrival of several embassies from Persia. This has helped me to write an account on the Indo-Persian relations on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion. On this basis I have tried to refute the charge that Muhammad Shah had no diplomatic relations with the Persian rulers before the rise of Nadir Shah. This is also useful for details of Maratha campaigns and local disturbances in Gujrat.

Tarikh-i-Fathiyah.(Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms.)

Yusuf Muhammad Khan entitled Mirza Fathullah was the author of this important work. He commences his account with the death of Rafi-ud-Drajat, and brings it down to the death of Nizamul Mulk. Apart from political events, it is very valuable for biographical accounts of some of the most notable personalities of the time. It also gives imformation about the difficulties Nizamul Mulk had to face during the time of

his first Wizarat and his stay in Delhi.

Shah Namah-i-Deccan Or Futuhat-i-Asafi.(Asfia Ms).

This is a versified history mainly dealing with the conquests of Asaf Jah. It is a contemporary record of priceless importance. The author, Mir Muhammad Ijad, came from Delhi and witnessed everything with his own eyes. This work has enabled me to write an account on the general conditions of the Empire - social degeneration, corruption in the administration, condition of the soldiery, Raja Jai Singh's alliance with the Marathas, conditions of Muslims in Rajputana and Gujrat, Hindu-Muslim tension in the capital and luxurious life of the nobles. These details have been given in a very simple and charming style, and are not available in any other work. I attach great importance to it.

Bayan-i-Waqai.(Aligarh Ms).

This famous work was written by Khwaja Abdul Karim Kashmiri, who accompanied Nadir Shah to India and visited Persia, Arabia and Ceylon between 1738-42. His account of political events relating to the invasion of Nadir Shah is very authentic and free from prejudices towards Indians. Unlike Hazin he did not entertain any dislike for the Indians or the Indian way of life.

Mirat-i-Waridat. (Aligarh Ms).

Muhammad Shafi Warid, the author of this work, was an eye witness of the events of the period. He commences his history from the beginning of the Mughul rule in India down

to Muhammad Shah's 14th regnal year, A.H. 1146/1733-34. He was also the author of a Diwan and four Masnavis. Shafi Warid has not only narrated political events, but have made reflections on the role of the nobility and described causes of degeneration in Indian Muslim Society.

Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh-Siyar-wa-Julus-i-Muhammad Shah. (Patna Ms).

This is very valuable work written by one who served in the government of Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Bakhsh 'Ashob' was an inhabitant of Delhi and was present in the battle of Karnal. He is prejudiced towards the Saiyid brothers and has criticised the role of Nizamul Mulk in the battle of Karnal. He has, besides the narration of political events, revealed the character of the nobles, their relations with the Emperor, their highhandedness and intrigues. Raja Jai Singh, Samsam-ud-Daulah and other leaders of the Indian party are adversely criticised. He was the supporter of the Mughuls and has pointed out injustices they suffered at the hands of the Saiyids and the leaders of the Indian party.

Risalah-i-Khan-i-Dauran-wa-Muhammad Shahi. (Rotograph of B.M.Ms. Aligarh).

It is a contemporary history by some anonymous writer who wrote it for his patron Samsam-ud-Daulah. It is written in a flowry style. His account is prejudiced particularly in regard to Nizamul Mulk and Saadat Khan Burhanul Mulk, the rivals of his patron. He has criticised them vehemently and levelled baseless charges against them. But it throws some important side-lights on the revenue administration and the economic

condition of the people.

Sahifah-i-Iqbal. (Rotograph of B.M.Ms.Aligarh).

This is also an anonymous history dealing with the first 4 years of Muhammad Shah's reign. The author of this book condemns the Saiyid brothers and showers contempt on them. The facts stated are true, but his reflections and comments are biased.

Hadisah-i-Nadir Shah.(Asfia Ms).

An anonymous work on Nadir Shah's invasion. This is useful for the political, social and religious conditions on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion.

Gulshan-i-Sadiq. (Patna Ms.).

It is a very volumonous work by Nawab Shakir Khan. I have made use with reference to the social life of the people and the training, education and employment and promotions of the sons of the nobles.

Tarikh-i-Shakir Khani alias Tazkirah-i-Shakir Khan. (Rotograph of B.M.Ms.Aligarh).

Shakir Khan was a Bakhshi in the Risalah-i-Sultani, when Nadir Shah invaded India. His father Lutfullah Khan was the governor of Delhi and a mansabdar of 7,000. His account of contemporary events is, therefore, extremely useful and important. He has given detailed lists of mansabdars, musicians, dancers, astrologers, painters etc. in the Court of Muhammad Shah.

Muraqqa-i-Delhi. (Lithographed Haiderabad).

Nawab Dargah Quli Khan, the writer of the book, had followed Nizamul Mulk when the latter went to Delhi to assume the Wazirat under Muhammad Shah before the invasion of Nadir Shah. The Nawab was keenly interested in the social and cultural life of the citizens of Delhi. His account on the buildings, markets, fairs and festivals, different classes of people like musicians and dancers is very valuable. The chapter on social life is entirely based on this book.

Jalwa-i-Deedar. (Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms.).

It is a Persian Masnavi dealing with different aspects of social and cultural life of the people. Nazwar Khan Muhammad Aqil wrote it in 1704 A.D.

Chaminstan by Anand Ram Mukhlis (Patna Ms.), and Char Gulshan by Chatman Rai (Patna Ms.), are contemporary and valuable for the details regarding social and cultural aspects of Indian society.

Majmua-i-Faiz by Sunder Lal (Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms.) is useful for details about social life.

Khazanah-i-Amrah (Lithographed Naval Kishore Press).

Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami who wrote this work in 1176 H. He was a learned scholar and a poet of great fame. This is a biographical account of important personalities of the time. It throws light on the character, tastes, habits, and private life of these persons, and in this way is useful

in supplementing our knowledge of the cultural history of the period.

The Tazkirahs and Diwans of Urdu poets supply immense historical material. They contain references to political events, and detailed information on cultural and social life. Among them, the Tazkirah of Mir Taqi Mir is of great importance. Mir was an inhabitant of Agra but went to Delhi in search of employment. Samsam-ud-Daulah, the Amirul Umra of Muhammad Shah fixed one rupee per month as his allowance. He witnessed all events that took place in the capital with his own eyes and recorded them without bias or prejudice to anyone. He has depicted in his own style the miseries and hardships the people suffered during those years. Kuliyat-i-Sauda and Diwan Zadah of Shah Hatim are replet with poems that portray the social and economic conditions of the people. They contain 'Shahr Ashob' or poems depcting the sufferings of men and women of Delhi. The Diwan-i-Faeiz contains many poems on the festivals, fairs, manners and customs of the inhabitants of the capital. There is a large number of other Tazkirahs which give reference to contemporary social and economic life.

Religious reformers and mystics like Shah Wali-Ullah, Khwaja Mir Dard and Shah Kalimullah wrote works of tremendous value which are a landmark in the history of religious literature. Shah Wali-Ullah's Hujjat-Ullah-il-Baligha ranks high in the religious literature produced by Indo-Muslim scholars. " The author's remarkable insight into fundamentals of Islam, his lucid exposition and cogent reasoning cast a halo of

immortality about it." In Al-Balaghul-Mubin the Shah has described in detail all evil practices that had crept up in religious institutions and criticised them most vehemently. His Tafhimat-i-Ilahia is important for details of political, social and economic conditions. His political letters, Shah Wali-Ullah Kai-Siyasi Maktubat edited and published by Mr.K.A. Nizami, throw freshlight on the political and economic history of the period. His works taken together form an immense treasure of information on political, social and economic aspects of Muslim life, and no other contemporary writer comes upto the standard in this respect.

Mullah Nizamuddin's Dars-i-Nizamyyiah shows the knowledge that was imparted to the students in the colleges. Khwaja Mir Dard's Ilmul Kitab is also unique in the mystic literature of the period. He has attempted to solve controversies on mysticism that raged in those days by the help of his own spiritual experiences and not by arguments and reasons. According to him reasoning is not the domain of a mystic, his realm is spiritualism to be developed by his own efforts. The works of Mazhar Jan Janan, Shah Kalimullah and Shah Fakhruddin are equally important. They not only deal with the controversial issued of mysticism, but throw new light on the religious beliefs and social conditions of the Muslims.

I take this opportunity to render my grateful thanks to my teacher and supervisor, Professor Shaikh Abdur Rashid, without whose kind help and guidance the work would never have been attempted and finished. I express my deep and sincerest gratitude to my teacher Mr.K.A.Nizami who always encouraged and inspired me in my studies of this subject. It was he who first

inspired me with the love of historical research, and has, ever since, been helping and guiding me in the true spirit of a teacher. My indebtedness to Dr.Nurul Hasan is great. He made valuable suggestions and always encouraged me in carrying out the research work. My best thanks are also due to Professor Hasan Askeri, Dr.Yousuf Husain Khan and Dr. Raghubir Singh of Sitamau who helped me a lot in carrying on my research work.

E.K.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Alamgir's death was the signal for political anarchy and economic breakdown within the Mughul Empire. Though one of the greatest rulers in intelligence, character and enterprise who ever graced an Indian throne, his reign paradoxically ushered in a period of decay. It was marked by the uprisings of the Marathas, the emergence of the Sikhs as a militant group, the rise of the Jats, the break-up of central administration, the development of centrifugal tendencies and lastly, by the establishment of European business centres in India. Long and ruinous internal strife brought about the exhaustion of national wealth, the paralysis of industry, indiscipline in the army, weakening of the frontier defences, disease and famine in the country. Alamgir, however, had kept up a heroic struggle and stood like a rock befalling every wave of turbulence. A man of undaunted courage, grim tenacity of purpose and ceaseless activity, Aurangzeb did not try to appease the enemies of the Empire by surrendering his sovereign power. He failed to understand that he was fighting against forces which he could not overcome in a straight fight for the malady was too deep rooted.

The Mughul Empire by the end of the reign of Alamgir had grown so vast that it could not be governed by one single person from one centre. Alamgir found a solution of the problem in the partition of the country among his sons. He had perceived that the forces of disintegration could be checked only by mobilising local forces, rather than by the military forces of the centre. This far-sighted policy was not understood by

his ambitious sons and they engaged in suicidal contests to preserve the whole of the country under their domination.

Bahadur Shah[1] ascended the throne after defeating his brother Azam Shah at Jaju on June 20, 1707. Inspite of the numerious difficulties with which he was faced, Bahadur Shah maintained the dignity of the Empire.

---

1. Out of his five sons there were three alive at the time of Alamgir's death. Muhammad Sultan (1639-76) and Akbar (1657-1706) had died, during their father's life time. Muhammad Kam Bakhsh, Muhammad Muazzam were there to contest the throne. Muhammad Muazzam was born at Burhanpur on 14th October, 1643. For his good services to his father he had received the title of Shah Alam. But Alamgir kept him for full seven years (1687-94) as punishment for his secret correspondence with Ahmad Hasan the ruler of Golkunda, when the city was besieged by the Emperor. After his release, he was first appointed governor of Allahabad (24th May, 1695) and in the next year sent to Lahore. After the death of Amir Khan he became the governor of Kabul and remained in charge of the same province for eight years. He was at Jamrud (12 miles west of Peshawar) when news of his father's death reached him (22nd March, 1707). He atonce marched towards Peshawar which he reached on 31st March, and thence proceeded to Lahore. On arriving at Pul-i-Shah Daulah, 12 kos north of Lahore, the prince proclaimed himself Emperor and assumed the title of Bahadur Shah. With him were his two sons Rafi-ul-Qadr and Khujista Akhtar, while the eldest Muizzuddin was at Multan, and Muhammad Azam was on his way from Bihar to the Deccan. See for details of his life, Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb (Vol.IV, Chapter 44-47) K.K. (pp. 573-78) Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shah (ff.1-2), Kamwar (f.332-b) Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan (f.53 a.b) Qasim (pp.14-16) Jagjivan Das (ff.17-18).

2. Naimat Khan Ali pp.25-27
   Warid pp.359-60
   Jagjivan Das f.19
   Qasim pp.20-23
   Kamwar f.333(b)
   Iradat ff.47-48.
   K.K. pp.590-96
   Full account of the battle is given by W.Irvine (Vol.1, pp.22-35).

Having selected a competent Wazir, Munim Khan, and appointed other officials, he left them to carry on their duties without interfering them.

While on his way from Deccan to Lahore, where a speedy solution of the Sikh problem demanded his presence, Bahadur Shah secured the submission of Raja Ajit Singh and Raja Jai Singh. They were invested with dresses of honour and allowed to return to their homes. Leaving Ajmer on June 27, 1710, the Emperor marched towards the Punjab to suppress the disturbances of the Sikhs. Lohgarh, their headquarter, was beseiged and stormed. A large number of the rebels was put to death, while others along with their leader, Banda, fled away.

---

1. Munim Khan was the son of Sultan Beg of the Barlas tribe and served as a petty servant in the Kotwali of Agra. After his father's death, Munim Khan went to Deccan and came in contact with Ruhullah Khan, the Mir Bakshi who made him the keeper of his seal. Alamgir employed him in various offices. First he was appointed to the charge of Haft Chauki and then as Superintendent of the elephant stables. For a brief interval he remained in obscurity, having incurred the displeasure of the Emperor. But in the 49th year he became the agent of Shah Alam in the province of Lahore, and was appointed faujdar of Jammu. Through his loyal service, to Shah Alam who was in Kabul, Munim Khan gained his confidence and agreed to support his cause in the coming war of succession. He collected war materials and necessary equipment during his stay at Lahore. On the death of Alamgir he sent to the Prince a letter congratulating him on succession. Shah Alam after celebrating his accession in Lahore, conferred on him the title of Khan Zaman, a set of drums, and promised to appoint him as his Wazir. His vigorous exertions in the battle of Jaju completely won the heart of Bahadur Shah. Munim Khan was wounded in the battle and was carried on a sheet of cloth and placed before the Emperor. Touched by the scene, the kind-hearted king took him in his arms and embraced him, saying, " All I have won is due to your exertions." He was made Wazir, with the rank of 7,000/7,000 horse, the title of Khan-i-Khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang, and a grant of two karors of Dams in cash. His one son Muhammad Naim (known as Khanazad Khan) was made Mahabat Khan Bahadur, and on the second Mukarram Khan, the title of Khan-i-Zaman was bestowed. M.U.(Vol.III, pp.667-677) K.K.(573-579). Iradat (ff.51,b,52,b, 53,b,59,a,b,).

But the central government had become weak and administrative machinery gone out of gear. The fundamental evils that had crept in the administration were aggravated by the mild character of the ruler and the mutual jealousies of the nobles. The Emperor made Munim Khan his Wazir, while the office of Wakil-i-Mutlaq was given to Asad Khan much against his wishes as " he would have liked to exercise, as before, the full power of the minister." Disappointed with this arrangement, Asad Khan left it to his son to act as deputy for him. The alienation of Asad Khan, and the absence of the Emperor and his minister from the capital, further weakened the administration. During his regime no efforts were made to carry out any well-defined scheme of administrative organisation; curruption and inefficiency continued eating into its vitals, The evils were aggravated by the Emperor's generosity, mildness and carelessness in granting ranks and rewards to all who approached him without weighing their merits.[1] As Khafi Khan relates, " One mansabdar petitioned the Emperor that he had lost his family title by its grant to another person. On his petition Bahadur Shah wrote, "Granted, granted, granted, even if another has it." From that time on the system was followed, as Danishmand Khan tells us " there were three men who at once bore the title of Fazil Khan."[2]

Bahadur Shah's death on the night of 27th February,1712, was followed by another war of succession among his sons, Muizuddin Jahandar Shah, Azim-ush-shan, Khujista Akhtar and Jahan Shah, in which the first succeeded in defeating and killing the others. Jahandar Shah crowned himself as Emperor with the title of Abul Fath, Muhammad Muizuddin, on 29th March,1712.[3]

---

1. K.K. pp.601-2.,2.Ibid pp.727-28., Irvine, Vol.I. pp.158-185

A licentious hunchback, Jahandar Shah fell in the whirlpool of debauchery and loose pleasures. Three times every month, grand illuminations were held in the capital, resulting in the rise of prices of oil and grain.[1] Under the spell of a vulgar woman, Lal Kunwar,[2] he gave himself up to dissipation. Sitting with her in a cart, the master of the Mughul Empire, would visit markets, gardens, shrines, and at night would go to wine shops, in utter defiance of decency and decorum.[3] " In the brief reign of Jahandar Shah violence and debauchery had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers, and all the tribes of dancers and actors. There seemed to be likelihood that kazis would turn toss-pots and the Mustis become tipplers....Worthy, talented and learned men were driven away, and bold impudent wits and tellers of fectious ancedotes gathered round"[4] The differences between Zulfiqar Khan, the Wazir, and Khan Jahan Kokaltash, the Amirul Umra led to laxity of administration.[5] Zulfiqar Khan became indifferent to his duties and left them to his secretary, Raja Sabha Chand, who was harsh in temper and unfit for work.[6]

---

1. Warid, p. 457.
2. Lal Kunwar was a dancing girl who had become the favourite concubine of Jahandar Shah, before his accession to the throne. She was the daughter of Khasusiyat Khan, a descendent of Mian Tan Sen. Lal Kunwar was present in the battle against his brothers after the death of Bahadur Shah. After his accession, Jahandar Shah honoured Lal Kunwar with the title of Imtiyaz Mahal, and immense riches were given to her. Irvine, p.180 (Vol.I).
3. Warid, p.457.
4. K.K.p.689 (Elliot) Vol.VII, p.432. Musicians had been elevated to the ranks of 8 and 9 thousand horse and governorships were bestowed upon them. When the Subadari of Multan was granted to Naimat Khan Kalawant, Zulfiqar Khan refused to issue the patent of appointment before the employee gave him one thousand guitars according to the prevailing practices. When the matter was referred to the Emperor, he asked the reason for such unusual demand. The Wazir replied when musicians were given posts of such responsibilities, the nobles would discard their weapons and learn to play on such instruments. This led to the cancellation of the appointment. Warid. (pp.450-51.
5. Warid. p. 451. 6. Kamwar.f.365(b)

After a brief reign of eleven months, Jahandar Shah was deposed and killed by Farrukh Siyar, son of Azimush Shan who enlisting the support of the Saiyid brothers,[1] proceeded from Patna and fought a successful battle near Agra on 10th January, 1713.[2] Farrukh-Siyar was feeble, fickle, indiscreet and unscruplous. These vital defects in his character rendered him the slave of his ministers and led to his tragic end. Throughout his reign the atmosphere of the court remained fraught with plots, intrigues and counter-intrigues. The factions, ranged on either side, were occupied frantically in destroying each other, their respective offices having no interest or meaning for them. The conflict between the Emperor and his two ministers commenced in the first year of the reign and had paralysed the whole administrative system. Farrukh Siyar, as a check against the influence of the ministers, had appointed his own favourites to keyposts, but they all proved imcompetent to cope with the situation and made confusion more confounded in administration.

---

1. The Saiyid brothers known to history as king-makers were Saiyid Husain Ali Khan and Hasan Ali Khan, sons of Saiyid Abdullah Khan alias Saiyid Mian, who had served in the reign of Alamgir first as Subedar of Bijapur and then of Ajmer. Their ancestor was Abdul Farrah who had come to India and settled in the district of Muzaffarnagar. In the reign of Alamgir, the elder brother Hasan Ali Khan, afterwards called Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk, was the Faujdar of Sultanpur Nazarbar in Baglana, Suba Khandesh, while the younger one Husain Ali Khan, held charge first of Rantambhor, and then Hindun and Bayana, in Subah Agra. The two brothers are next mentioned as serving under Muizuddin, the eldest son of Shah Alam in Multan, but left him in dudgeon as the prince did not honour them in the manner they had desired. They were then employed by Munim Khan, and given mansab by Shah Alam who came to Lahore after the death of his father. In the battle of Jaju, they fought on the side of Shah Alam and received the ranks of 4,000 each, while the elder brother was given the title of his father, Abdullah Khan. But they left this service also in disgust, for their ambitions did not materialise as they picked up quarrel with Muizuddin. It was through the favour of prince Azimush-shan that Abdullah Khan was made his deputy in Allahabad and Husain Ali Khan was to represent the prince in Bihar. They were in these two provinces when Farukh-Siyar proclaimed himself as Emperor and appealed to Husain Ali Khan to espouse his cause. See for details M.U.Vol.I.pp.321-338; and Vol.III, pp.130-40.
2. Hasan Ijad - f. 105 (b), Kamwar f.503.

Quoting from Khushal Chand, Irvine writes, " During this and the preceeding reign, that of Jahandar Shah, the strict rules and regulations for business in all departments were neglected. Most of the men who know the old routine had disappeared by death or dismissal. The Wazir was not a trained aministrator himself, and paid little or no attention to civil business."[1] The habitual sloth and easy going dilatory methods of Qutbul Mulk ushered in a period of utter laxity and looseness in office work. Saiyid Abdullah had delegated his duties to Ratan Chand, a shopkeeper by origin, and himself became engrossed in the defence of his own interests. Narrow-minded, selfish, and ignorant of the art of administration, Ratan Chand embezzled large amounts of money, usurped jagirs and properties of helpless persons, appointed incompetent persons to responsible posts in his department, and interfered in the work of the officials of the Diwan.[2]

The natural corollary to these disorders was the bankruptcy of the public exchequer. During this period, revenue administration was neglected and no attempt was made to reorganise it. The work of collecting revenue was given to those who made the highest bid instead of the officials appointment by the government. The ministers were not at all concerned with the falling of the revenues, as they were receiving huge sums of money by unfair means. Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk did not desist from accepting bribes even after being admonished by Emperor Farrukh Siyar.[3]

---

1. Irvine, Vol.i p. 335.
2. K.K. p. 739.
   Kamwar f.370(a).
3. K.K. p. 837.

RIVAL POLITICAL FACTIONS:

In the Mughul system of government, monarchical and highly centralised, nobility formed a great source of power and strength, being its sword and its prop. Imperial service, was compensated by a continous increase in dignity, rank, and riches, but these rewards were attended with great risks and great temptations. The officers of the State were the creatures of the Emperor but wealth and ambition made them headstrong and arrogant. Great tact and vigilance was required to discipline and keep control over such officers. It would not be incorrect to call this period of incompetent rulers as an age dominated by ministers, for they usurped the royal power, and possessed great military strength, and immense resources. Right from the accession of Bahadur Shah to that of Muhammad Shah, every Emperor owed his crown to the support of some big noble or a strong faction who fought for him against his rivals. Munim Khan, Zulfiqar Khan and Saiyid brothers were all king-makers.

The imperial nobility was a heterogeneous mass composed of diverse and incongruous elements differing from each other in race and religion. There was a Turani section which hailed from Iran. There was a strong group of Afghans who were recent immigrants into India, known as Ruhelas who had established their colonies in the Jumuna-Ganges Doab. The rest were Indian both Hindus and Muslims. In the contemporary literature we find only three classes of nobles, Turani, Irani, and Indian. To a writer of the period every Afghan, Rajput and Indian-born Muslim was an Indian, while every foreigner whether coming from north of the Oxus or south of it, a Mughul.[1] But the basic element of this division was their own political rivalries and not religious, racial and lingustic prejudices. Their personal interests decided their attitude

---

1. Ashob. Vol. I. p. 82.

towards each other, and shaped their policy towards the monarch. The fortunes of these parties were linked with that of their candidate for the throne. It was a hazardous game of chance, your entire future depending on your backing the right horse. It kept the nobility divided, the kings weak and the people in a state of nervous tension.

During the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah there was obviously no friction between the Wazir and the Emperor; both of them were indebted to Munim Khan and Zulfiqar Khan respectively for their elevations, and never gave umbrage to them. As the key note of Bahadur Shah's policy was compromise, all the nobles who had not championed his cause were reconciled and brought back into the imperial service. Zulfiqar Khan who had deserted Azam Shah in the battle of Jaju was appointed First Bakshi, and his father Asad Khan, Wakil-Mutlaq. Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jang was transferred to the Subedari of Gujrat, his son Chin Qilich Khan[1] was appointed Subedar of Oudh and Faujdar of Gorakhpur, and his nephew Muhammad Amin Khan went to Moradabad in the capacity of governor.[2] Despite this conciliatory treatment meted out to them by the Emperor, these nobles remained dissatisfied with the new arrangements. Asad Khan wanted to be Wazir, Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jang, the governor of Deccan as he was in the reign of Alamgir, and Chin Qilich Khan was unhappy in serving at such a distant place.

---

1. His original name was Mir Qamruddin, and he was born in Deccan in 1671. His father, Mir Shahbuddin, having the rank of 7,000 and the title of Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang, was the governor of Gujrat in the reign of Aurangzeb. Mir Qamruddin fought in several campaigns in the Deccan, and received rewards and title from Alamgir. At the age of 13 years, he was given the rank of 400/100. In 1684-85, the title of Khan was added to his name. In 1690-1 he received the title of Chin Qilich Khan Bahadur. For details:- M.U. Vol.III.pp.838-48; Asaf Jah I, pp.1-6.
2. Kamwar. f. 336(a).

Chin Qilich Khan showed his resentment by resigning his posts and titles twice. On the first occasion he was appeased by a promotion in his rank, but on the second he completely retired from active service. But in the end of his reign he was given the title of Ghaziuddin Khan, after the death of his father.[1] After the death of Bahadur Shah, Zulfiqar Khan had supported Jahandar Shah, and on the prince's accession to the throne he was appointed Wazir in recognition of his military services. Ghaziuddin Khan who had espoused the cause of Azimushshan, though he could not join him in the battle field, again failed to achieve his political ambition and consequently retired from the public life.[2] Nevertheless he was saved by Zulfiqar Khan through the influence of Abdul Samad Khan, brother-in-law of Muhammad Amin Khan, from the usual punishment accorded to the partisans of the vanquished princes by the new Emperor. When Farrukh-Siyar marched to Agra to overthrow Jahandar Shah, Ghaziuddin Khan and Muhammad Amin Khan[3] were befriended by Zulfiqar Khan, but they proved traitors and joined the pretender supported by Saiyid brothers.[4] After the victory of Farrukh Siyar over Jahandar Shah, Ghaziuddin Firoz Jang was appointed governor of Deccan, with the title of Nizamul Mulk Bahadur Fateh Jung, while his cousin Muhammad Amin Khan Chin Bahadur was given the title of Itimad-ud-Daulah Nusrat Jung,

---

1. Irvine p. 271, Vol.I, M.U. Vol.III, p.875.
2. M.U. p.876.
3. His father, Mir Shahbuddin, was the real brother of Khwaja Abid Khan, the grandfather of Mir Qamruddin Khan, known as Nizamul Mulk. Muhammad Amin Khan came to India and got service under Alamgir. His rank was fixed as 2,000/1000 horse, and the title of Khan was granted to him. He for a long period served in the Deccan with his uncle, Khan Firoz Jung. In the 42nd year of Alamgir's reign he was made Sadar after the death of Kazi Abdullah. In recognition of his services, his rank was increased from time to time till it was 4,000/5,000 and the title of Chin Bahadur was added to his name. M.U. Vol.I, pp. 346-60.
4. K.K. pp.698-716; Kamwar, f.365(b); Warid.p.478; Qasim,p.63;
5. K.K. p.728; Kamwar.ff.368(b), 369(a); Mirza Muhammad.f.25(a); Hasan Ijad f.135(a).

With the accession of Farrukh-Siyar, the division of the nobility under various groups became acute. Farrukh-Siyar owed the crown to the Saiyid brothers. As was natural, flushed with newly acquired power and conscious of their strength, they wanted the king to be a mere puppet. The latter, chagrined under the tutelage of the Saiyids, tried to secure support from factions hostile to and jealous of the brothers. As a counterpoise to these designs, the Saiyid brothers sought alliance with Churaman Jat, Raja Ajit Singh and the Marathas, and conciliated such of the Mughul nobles, who were disgusted with the faithlessness and feebleness of the Emperor. The leading part in this was taken by the Saiyids of Barha, who thus succeeded in forming a compact group kint together by common interests and common hatred.

The Mughuls, who had organised themselves under the leadership of Nizamul Mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan, entered into an agreement with the Saiyids, but did not actually work for the over throw of the ill-fated Emperor, Farrukh Siyar. Already doubtful of their friendship, the Saiyids proceeded with their plans and soon were estranged from the Mughul faction, till in the first year of Muhammad Shah's reign, the Mughul party succeeded in destroying the power of Saiyid brothers. Nevertheless, the Indian party once established did not lose its power; Samsam-ud-Daulah, after the fall of the Saiyids, became its leader, and dominated the political scene till his death in 1739.

On the accession of Muhammad Shah there stood two parties opposed to each other, the Indian group composed of Rajputs, Jats, Marathas, Indian Muslims, and the Mughul comprising all foreign elements. This division first appeared at the time of the deposition of Farrukh-Siyar and later at the battle of Hasanpur, in which Saadat Khan, an Iranian Shia, and Muhammad Khan Bangash, and Afghan both foreigners, joined Emperor Muhammad Shah against the Saiyids,

the leaders of the Indian party. Upto this time we do not come across a separate faction formed by the Iranians. It developed later when Safdar Jung and Amir Khan appeared on the scene in the last decade of Muhammad Shah's reign.

CHALLENGE TO THE EMPIRE.

The wars of succession, the bankruptcy of the government the intrigues among the nobles introduced momentous changes in the political and economic set up of the country. While disturbing the peace of the land and making life and property insecure, this state of affairs undermined the prestige of the Crown, and weakened the authority of the government. The Marathas, the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Jats and the Bundelas appeared on the scene in a made scamper for power. Aurangzeb, despite the formidable odds he had to face kept up a heroic struggle but he did not succeed in stopping the consequent disruption of the Empire. What distinguishes the policy of Alamgir from that pursued by his successors in providing solution of those problems was the purchase of a precarious peace at the cost of Imperial authority. While Aurangzeb in the struggle for survival boldly took up the challenge, his successors wanted to survive by abdicating authority and followed the policy of appeasement but they got only a temporary respite and this policy led to their ultimate ruin. The Marathas were not satisfied with the grant of Sardeshmukhi and Chauth in South India, but extended their demands over central and northern India in years to come. Raja Ajit Singh of Mewar and Jai Singh of Amber, contemplated recovering their independence.

The Marathas:

After his flight from Azam Shah's camp on the suggestion of

Zulfiqar Khan, Shahu,[1] son of Sambhaji, reached Satara in December, 1707, and was placed on the throne of his grandfather Shivaji, on 12th January, 1708, with customary pomp and ritual.[2] He had left behind him his mother, Yesubai, his wife, and his illegitimate half-brother, Madan Singh, son of Sambhaji, one Jotyaji Kesarkar also remained in the Mughul camp to obtain formal Farman recognising his authority over his partrimony. The conditions on which he was to be permitted to resume his chiefship were: that he was to rule as a feudatory of the Mughuls over the possessions of his grandfather; he was to render military service whenever called upon, and was to be allowed to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from all the six provinces.[3] But no Farman to this effect was ever issued by either Azam Shah, or Bahadur Shah. Shahu's position in Maharashtra was not secure; his legitimate right to Maratha severeignty was disputed by Tarabi his aunt, the widow of Raja Ram, who declared him as an imposter and resolved to resist the pretender at all cost. A protracted civil war followed in which Shahu gained victory; Panhala was recovered from her control; and she was ultimately put into confinment in 1712 by another claimant Rajashbai, the second wife

---

1. Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, had been taken into captivity at the age of 7 years by Alamgir in 1689, along with his family and 200 men and women. They remained in confinment for 17 years. After the death of Aurangzeb, 1707, Zulfiqar Khan presented the case of Shahu before Azam Shah, who had proclaimed himself Emperor and marched towards North to fight against his brother Shah Alam. Azam Shah put off the matter till he was free from immediate task. Upon this Zulfiqar Khan advised Shahu not to wait for formal orders but effect his escape at the earliest opportunity. On 8th May, 1707, at Doraha, about 20 miles North-west of Bhopal, Shahu left the imperial camp. Azam Shah made no attempt to pursue him and he safely entered his country. Sarkar's Aurangzeb Vol.V. pp.203-8; Sardesai, Vol.I. pp.349-53.
2. S.P.D. ~~xxx~~2. Maratha Riyasat, 1.12.7.14; K.K. p.582-83. Bisatul Ghanayam. p.63.
3. Sardesari. New History of the Marathas 1 p.12.

of Raja Ram who contrived to raise her own son, Sambhaji to the throne. When Maharashtra was involved in this domestic conflict, another attempt was made by Shahu to secure recognition to his claims from Bahadur Shah. From the outset Shahu had considered himself as the vassal of the Mughuls. " He never for a moment forgot that he owed what he was, entirely to the kindness of the Emperor (Alamgir) who could as well put have an end to his life and inflicted miseries upon his mother and other relations."[1]

Shahu, therefore, sent a contingent of Marathas, under the command of Neemaji Sindhia to the help of the new Emperor against his rival. After defeating Kam Bakhsh near Haiderabad on 3rd January, 1709, Bahadur Shah left Deccan and reached Ahmednagar in May. There Shahu's Pratimadhi, Gadadhar Pralhad and Raybhanji Bhosle presented his petition before the Emperor and requested the confirmation of the grants of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi. Zulfiqar Khan,[2] the new governor of the Deccan, supported the case, but Munim Khan, the Wazir of Bahadur Shah urged by Tarabai to push her own son's claims, opposed him saying that first the rival claimants should settle the issue among themselves. Bahadur Shah, acting on his Wazir's advice postponed the matter till one of them came out victorious from the contest.[3]

---

1. Sardesai, p. 14.
2. His real name was Muhammad Ismail, and he was born in 1675. His father's name was Asad Khan Asafud Daula and the mother's name was Mihrun-Nisa. Originally his rank was only 300, but gradually he rose to preeminance. It was on the capture of Raigedh in 1689 that the Emperor Alamgir, being highly pleased with his military exertions, bestowed on him the title of Zulfiqar Khan. On the death of Alamgir, he was appointed as Mir Bakhshi by Azam Shah, but the warrior deserted the prince in the battle of Jaju, and went to his father Asad Khan who was at Gwalior at that time. Bahadur Shah also showed favour to him after his coronation appointing him as the first paymaster. M.U. Vol.II. pp.93-106.
3. K.K. p.626-27.

From that time onward to 1715 when Husain Ali Khan was appointed to the charge of the Deccan after the transfer of Nizamul Mulk to Moradabad, Maratha politics were marked by internal warfare and local disturbances created by petty chiefs who plundered caravans and villages. Though, Shahu, by the help of his Peshwah Balaji Vishvanath had succeeded in overcoming his adversaries and improving his prestige and power, his position was still precarious. The disturbed conditions in Maharashtra afforded a golden opportunity to the Mughul government to weaken the power of the Marathas and check their advance towards the north, but the feeble and corrupt successors of Alamgir failed to benefit by it. Instead of undertaking expeditions against the Marathas, the monarchs and the nobility indulged themselves in fratricdal wars. Sardesai has rightly ascribed the cause of growing Maratha power to this state of affairs. "But Maratha politics received special vigour not so much through domestic occurences, as from the many momentous and rapid changes that came over the court of Delhi after, Bahadur Shah's death on 17th February, 1712."[1]

On the assassination of Zulfiqar Khan by the order of Farrukh-Siyar, 12th January, 1713,[2] his deputy Daud Khan, who had governed Deccan since 1708, was replaced by Nizamul Mulk;[3] but the latter could hold his office only for two years (1713-16) and had to make room for Husain Ali Khan, whose presence had become galling to the Emperor in the capital where he served the government in the capacity of Mir Bakhshi.[4] Even in the South, the Amirul Umra was prevented from devoting himself to the administration and dealing with the Marathas on account of court intrigues.

---

1. Sardesai, II. p. 31.
2. K.K. 734; Qasim Lahori, p.69; Mirza Muhammad.ff.22.
3. Mirza Muhammad f. 25(a); K.K.740; Kamwar f.369(a), Masir-i-Nizami, p. 30; Masir-i-Asafi, p.51.
4. Kamwar f.376(b), Mirza Muhammad f.35(a).; Shiv Das.ø p.8.

First he had to fight the governor of Gujrat, who had been instigated by the central government to proceed to Deccan to do away with the hated Amirul-Umra, Husain Ali Khan, but Daud Khan lost his life in a battle near Burhanpur, on 26th August, 1715.[1] But the foolish Emperor continued his intrigues against his brother Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk in the capital. The Wazir wrote urgent letters to him to come to Delhi and rescue from the cultches of the Emperor.[2] In the face of a serious danger Husain Ali sought the help of Raja Shahu to ensure success in case of a show-down between the Emperor and his faction. Peace parleys were conducted through Shankaraji Malhar, the agent of Shahu, and the Raja lent his countenance to the Saiyid's overtures and agreed to help him in the hour of need.[3] The terms settled between the two parties were as follows:-[4]

1. " That such territories as had been recently conquerred by the Marathas in Khandesh, Berar, Gondwara, Haiderabad and Karnatak as described in the annexure to the treaty should be ceded to them as part of the Maratha kingdom;

2. " That all territories known as Shivaji's Swarajya (original dominions) together with the forts therein, should be delivered to Shahu in full possession;

3 " That the Marathas should be allowed to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from all the six Mughul Subahs in the South; in return for the Chauth the Marathas were to serve the Emperor with a contingent of 15 thousand troops for his protection; and in return for

---

1. K.K. 753; Warid pp.517-18; Qasim p.90; Shiv Das pp.17-19; Masir-i-Asafi p. 42; Mirza Muhammad f.37.
2. Shiv Das p. 43.
3. S.P.D. pp. 224,265.
4. Sardesai Vol.I p.4.; Sen pp.44-45.

the Sardeshmukhi the Marathas were responsible for maintaining order by preventing robbery and rebellions;

4. " That Shahu should do no harm to Shambhaji of Kolhapur;

5. " That the Marathas should make a cash payment annually of ten lakh of rupees to the Emperor by way of tribute; and lastly,

6 " That the Emperor should release and send back from Delhi Shahu's mother Yesubai, his wife and his brother Madan Singh with all the followers that were detained there."

Although the treaty had been made in the name of the Emperor, Farrukh-Siyar refused to ratify it. He knew as to who was to enjoy the advantages resulting from the agreement, and whom the Marathas had promised to support. Nevertheless, Husain Ali Khan, accompanied by Balaji Vishawanath[1] and other chiefs at the head of 16,000 Marathas horse[2], marched to the capital and arriving there on the 16th February, 1719, secured the deposition of Farrukh-Siyar on 28th February, 1719.

---

1. Balaji Vishvanath came from the family of Deshmukhs of Shrivardhan on the West coast serving under Siddis of Janjera. He is reported to have been first employed as a clerk in the salt works at Chiplum under that government. He is then mentioned as Sabhased of Prant Poon in 1696 and from 1699 to 1702 he worked as Sar Subedar of Poona. In 1702 he was serving under Shivaji Tadhav in the defence of Sinhaged. For three years he acted as Sar Subedar of Prant Daulatabad. He was also present while Shahu was attempting his escape from the Mughul camp. He was later on appointed (1707) to the charge of Dewan of Sinapati. On his coronation in January, 1708, Shahu, made him Senakarte, "maker of armies." Finally in November, 1713 he became the Peshwa of Raja Shahu. Sardesai Vol.II pp.17-20. Sinha - Rise of Peshwas pp.28-49.
2. S.P.D.x.x.x. pp. 224-265.

The Marathas, who had gone to the capital to get the terms ratified, stayed there for a month, and left Delhi on 30th March, 1719, taking the family of Shahu, and three documents one for Sardeshmukhi, the second, for a grant of the Chauth of the Deccan and the third for the Swaraj or heriditary right to the territories orginally formed[1] into an independent kingdom by Shivaji. These Farmans were issued in the reign of Rafi-ud-Darajat who came to the throne on the same day when Farrukh-Siyar had been deposed and blinded.[1]

By recognising the claims of Raja Shahu, the Mughul government secured the alliance and friendship of a large section of the Marathas hitherto at war with her forces in the South. A mutinous and militant people were satisfied for the time being. The treaty, though formed by a single individual for his own self preservation, seemed the only solution to the prolonged armed conflict with the Marathas, particularly when all hopes of their suppression by military strength had been dissipated by the confusion and chaos prevalining at the court and by the utter weakness of the central government. The success or failure of the treaty depended on the strength of the Mughul Emperors, to enforce its terms and the sincerity of the Marathas to faithfully abide by the same.

---

1. Kamwar f. 170(b).
   Grant Duff (Calcutta Edition) Vol.I. p.368.
   Irvine, Vol.I p.407.
   Sardesai Vol.II.p. 46.

REPRESSION AND RECONCILATION OF RAJPUT RAJAS.

On Alamgir's death, Raja Ajit Singh Rathor[1] had taken possession of Jodhpur and risen into open revolt against the Mughul government by driving the Muslims from the city and expelling the Mughul commandant, Mihrab Khan.[2] He had joined no party in the civil war among the sons of Alamgir, and when Bahadur Shah came to the throne, he showed no sign of submission to the new Emperor. Jai Singh of Amber,[3] on the other hand, had supported Azam Shah,[4] while his brother Bijai Singh, fought on the side of Shah Alam, each with hope of securing imperial recognition of his claim to the Gaddhi of the state. Bahadur Shah on the plea that there existed dispute between the two brothers ordered Amber to be annexed and renamed as Islamabad.

---

1. Ajit Singh was the posthumous son of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. He was born in February, 1679, at Lahore where his mother had reached from Jamrud after the death of her husband. In the beginning Alamgir had refused to recognise Ajit Singh as the legitimate chief of Marwar. The Rathors rose into rebellian to support his cause and fought against the Emperor. When the Emperor was convinced of the legitimacy of Ajit Singh, he recognised him ruler of the state. But Ajit Singh never learnt a lesson from either punishment or peaceful settlement, he ever kept on fighting against the government. War dragged on for full 25 years till the death of Aurangzeb. Sarkar - Vol. III. Chapters - XXXVI, XXVII.
2. Dilkusha f.170(a,b).
3. His father's name was Bishan Singh, the greatgrand son of the illustrated Mirza Raja Jai Singh. In the 44th year of his reign, Aurangzeb granted him the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Raja Jai Singh. He, like other nobles had also fought in the Deccan, and in capture the fort of Khalna, he displayed great valour which won Alamgir's admiration. He was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. After the death of Alamgir, he supported Azam Shah in the war of succession but on the day of battle he deserted him and joined Bahadur Shah. Nevertheless, he could not enjoy the confidence of the new Emperor. For details . M.U. Vol.II. pp. 81-83.
4. Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan, f.22(b)., Bahadur Shah Namah, pp. 62-64. Tod (Calcutta Edition, 1809) Vol.II, p. 904, Irvine pp.46-47. Kamwar f. 336(a).

Saiyid Ahmed Said Khan Barha was appointed Faujdar and the properties of Jai Singh were ordered to be confiscated. But later on, Bijai Singh was raised to the seat of Kacchwa State and jewels worth Rs 1,00,000 were given to his mother; the confiscated goods of Jai Singh were also restored to him.[1]

Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur sent his brother Bakht Singh to Agra to offer his homage; one hundred gold coins, one thousand rupees, two horses with gold mount trappings, one elephant, nine swords, and other things were also presented to him.[2] The only recalcitrant prince was Raja Ajit Singh.

It was to chastise him that Bahadur Shah set out from Agra on 12th November, 1707, towards Rajputana.[3] Before he could reach Ajmer, he was perturbed by the reports of his brother's rebellion in the south; but he still expressed his resolve to march on Jodhpur. Knowing his intentions, Mukand Singh and Bakht Singh, the representatives of the Raj of Jodhpur, opened negotiations with Bahadur Shah for his submission. As a result, on 25th February, 1708, Raja Ajit Singh, with his two hands tied together by a handkerchief, presented himself before the Emperor and offered one hundred gold coins and one thousand rupees. He was received with every mark of favour by Bahadur Shah, who conferred on him the title of Maharaja, a rank of 3,500 zat and 3,000 horse (of which 1,000 was Du Aspa), a standard and Kettle drums; his eldest son Abhay Singh was given the mansab of 1,500/300 horse, his second son Bakhi Singh, 700/200 horse, and the third and fourth sons each 500/100 horse.[4]

---

1. Ibid.
2. Bahadur Shah Namah, p. 44; Dilkusha f.169(b), 170(a).
3. Kamwar f. 335(b), Iradat f.68(b).,
4. Kamwar f.336(a), Bahadur Shah Namah pp.92-95.

The Maharanawho had first his submission to the Emperor now avoided presenting himself before him, when he heared the latter's approach towards his capital. The Emperor tried his utmost to assuage his fear and remove suspicions by sending letters and presents, but the Maharan never came, but fled into the hills.[1]

After the conclusion of this treaty, Raja Ajit Singh and Raja Jai Singh accompanied Bahadur Shah who was marching towards South to suppress his brother Kam Baksh, but they, out of sheer mischief, left the camp at Kandeshwar on 30th April, 1708.[2] Raja Jai Singh was not satisfied with the arrangements made by Bahadur Shah in respect of the succession to the Gaddhi of Amber. He was hostile towards the Emperor, and fomented treason among the Rajputs, hoping that such outbreak wauld help him to overthrow his brother. In order to accomplish his selfish aim, Raja Jai Singh instigated the Rajputs to rise against the Mughuls and secure their independence. The Rajput chiefs went to Udaipur where they entered into triple alliance which contained the following terms.[3]

1. The Ranas of Udaipur were acknowledged to be of pure blood and hence any issue from the daughter of his family would be given preference in matter of succesion if she became the wife of some Rajput Raja.

2. No prince would marry his daughter to the Mughul Monarch. Anyone who acted against it would be punished by the combined forces of the signatories.

---

1. Bahadur Shah Namah, pp. 66-74.
2. Tod. p. 906., Dilkusha, f.172(b)., Kamwar f. 336(b).
3. Virvinod, Vol.II. pp. 769-70, 772-74,775-78, Ojha, VolII, p. 914-17., Tod. Vol.I, p.415., Malva in Transition, p. 116.

3. They decided to act in concert in all matters of importance. The real aim of the treaty was to restore Ajit Singh and Jai Singh to their respective Gaddis. Raja Jai Singh married the daughter of the Maharana and promised to nominate the son born of this princess as his successor. The treaty was fraught with serious dangers as it caused many civil wars in Rajputana.

With a force of thirty thousand horse, the confederate invaded Jodhpur and occupied it after ousting the Faujdar. They recovered Bayana and Amber, and killed Saiyid Husain Khan Barha, the commandant of Mewat, his two brothers Ahmed Said Khan, Faujdar of Mairtha Sangahana, Ghiarat Khan, Faujdar of Narnol, and some fifty followers.[1] After settling the affiars of the Deccan, the Mughul Emperor crossed the Narmada on 25th December, 1709, and reached Daudwa Sarai, 30 kos from Ajmer, on 15th May, 1716. At this time his main anxiety being the suppression of Sikhs, Bahadur Shah again pardoned them by bestowing rewards on them and allowing them to return to their homes.[2]

But this conciliatory policy made no impression on Raja Ajit Singh. He again revolted in the reign of Jahandar Shah and captured Ajmer. The Emperor failed to despatch any expedition against him. When Farrukh-Siyar assumed royal power, Husain Ali Khan, the Mir Bakshi, was sent to Jodhpur (16th January, 1714). He opened the operations vigoruosly, pursuing the enemy to the very gates of the capital. Ajit Singh seeing his strength unequal to that of Husain Ali Khan, surrendered and acknowledged all the terms offered by the imperial general.

---

1. Irvine. Vol.I. p. 69., Tod. Vol.II. ø pp.906-7., K.K.p.651. Warid. 279.
2. Iradat f.76(b).

He gave one of his daughters in marriage to Farrukh-Siyar, sent Abhay Singh to the court to represent him and agreed to attend in person when summoned.[1]

Rajput princes were thus conciliated and raised to high status by Bahadur Shah and Farrukh-Siyar. Specially in the reign of the latter monarch, they acquired enormous power and position both in their principalities and at the Mughul Court. Raja Jai Singh had been appointed by Farrukh-Siyar in the first year (February, 1713, November, 1717). During this period he inflicted crushing defeats on the Maratha chiefs who were constantly attacking Malwa. Day after day he rose in the estimation of Farrukh-Siyar, who on 15th September, 1716, entrusted him with the task of putting down the Jat rebel Churaman. Raja Jai Singh of Marwar, Rao Budh Singh of Bundi, and Rao Bhim Singh of Kotah had also accompanied him in the campaign.[3] The daughter of Raja Ajit Singh was married to the Emperor on 17th December, 1715. He took full part in the court intrigues leading to the deposition of Farrukh-Siyar. He had been appointed governor of Gujrat in 1718, and on 5th November, 1719, the province of Ajmer was also given to him.[4]

---

1. Warid pp. 509-10.
   Mirza Muhammad f.50(a,b).
   Shiv Das, pp. 5-7.
   K.K. p. 738.
2. Akhbarat - (dated, May,23,24,26,28,29 & Sept.2.14,1713).
   Akhbarat - (dated April 5, May 8, June 1,1715).
   Letters - March 12, April 15, 18,21,26,29, May 8,16,1715.
3. Akhbarat - (Sarkar's collection, Vol 12) dated January 4,12, 1717, April 17, May 20, 1717.
4. K.K. 838.
   Qasim, 297.
   Irvine, Vol.II. p.4.

Jaziya had been abolished in the first year of Farrukh-Siyar's reign,[1] and though reimposed on the suggestion of Inayatullah in 1717,[2] was finally abolished by Rafi-ud-darjat.

It appeared that the whole of Rajputana had been won over to the support of the Empire; their grievances were redressed, their demands fulfilled and offices of great responsibilities were given to them.

THE JATS AND THE BUNDELAS.

The Jats.

Churaman Jat,[3] the son of Bhojja Singh, and the younger brother of Raja Ram who had been killed in a battle with the Rajputs on 4th July, 1688, had submitted to Bahadur Shah and fought against the Sikhs in the Imperial army and later on took part in the war

---

1. Shiv Das, p. 4. Akhbarat (dated April 12, 1713).
2. Inayatullah Kashmiri, the Secretary of Aurangzeb, had been appointed the Diwan by Farrukh-Siyar. Explaining the reason why he reimposed Jaziya, Farrukh-Siyar wrote to Raja Jai Singh, " Inayatullah Khan has placed before me a letter from the Sherrif of Mecca that the collection of Jaziya is obligatory according to Shariat. In a matter of faith I am helpless." Akhbarat, May 15, 1717.
3. The sturdy race of the Jats living in Mathura and Sasni under the very shadow of the Imperial capital, had started depredations by committing highway robbery and killing the unprotected merchants and travellers of every caste and religion during the reign of Alamgir. When Alamgir was apprised of their oppressions, he sent from Deccan in 1687-8, Khan-i-Jahan, Zafar Jung, Kokaltash, Prince Bidar Bakhat, son of Azam Shah to restore order in the region. Sasni, their stronghold was captured on 14th July,1688, and the Jat leader, Raja Ram was killed and his head was sent to the Emperor in the Deccan. The leadership of this military force was assumed by Bhojja the father of Churaman. He also started plundering the carvans and massacring the people in cold blood. Aurangzeb sent Bishnu Singh Kachhwa, great grandson of Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Amber to root out the Jats and take his Jagir. In 1691, the strongholds were captured by the Raja, and people enjoyed peace for sometime. In 1705, Mukhtar Khan destroyed Sasni again. On 13th December, 1707, Riza Bahadur attacked it again, and took possession of ten carts loaded with weapons while one thousand heads were collected to be sent to the court as trophies of his success. After the death of Bhojja, Churaman became the ldeader of the Jats. Sarkar. History of Aurangzeb (Vol.IV. Chap.IX) pp.293-311.
Prof.Qanungo - History of the Jats. pp. 37-50.

of succession among his sons.[1] He was also present in the deadly contest between Jahandar Shah and Farrukh-Siyar near Agra on 10th January, 1713, when he plundered the baggage of both the armies. To avenge the wrongs committed by the Jat leader, Farrukh-Siyar first sent Chabella Ram Nagar and then Samsam-ud-Daulah to invade his stronghold and crush his power. But none could bring him to submission. Samsam-ud-Daulah satisfied himself only by making peace with him. Churaman came to attend the court and received the wardenship of one of the main roads running from Barapula upto the banks of Chambel.[2]

But he could not perform the duties of his new charge satisfactorily. He grew arrogant and haughty in his dealings with the chiefholders and other officers of the government. Raja Jai Singh was called from Malwa and sent to storm Thun, which the Raja besieged on 19th November, 1716.[3] Churaman made a stubborn resistance, and fought long and steadily, displaying the cool obstinate valour and subjecting the imperial commander to various hardships. But in the end, the Jat leader gave way before superior discipline and artillery of the Mughuls.[4] He made peace with the government through the good offices of Saiyid Abdullah, over the head of Jai Singh, agreeing to pay a tribute of thirty lakhs of rupees. On the 19th

---

1. Irvine - Vol.I. pp. 322-33.
2. Warid. p. 503., Irvine p. 244.
3. Ibid.
4. Warid, p. 521., K.K. p. 944., Shiv Das. pp. 34-35.
   Siyar. p. 31., Akhbarat, (Sarkar Collection) Vol.12.
   Letter of Jai Singh to Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk on his victory over Jats p. 510.
   Akhbarat, (Persian Vol.2 Additional) dated March 1718.p.29.

April, 1718, he was received in audience by the Emperor.[1] For this kindness of the Wazir, the Jat leader supported the Saiyids against the luckless Emperor.

The Bundelas.

Chattarsal, the chief of the Bundelas had fought against the Sikhs in the army of Bahadur Shah, and against the Marathas in cooperation with Raja Jai Singh in the time of Farrukh-Siyar. They had defeated the Marathas at Pelsud on May 10, 1713. For this military service to the Empire he was raised to the mansab of Rs 6,000/4,000 horse on 21st January, 1714, and on the third May, 1718, three of his sons and grandsons attended the court and received presents.[2]

Both Churaman Jat and Chattarsal Bundela remained loyal to the Empire in this period; they never unsheathed their swords against the Mughul forces but assisted them in suppressing other rebels like the Sikhs and the Marathas. Chattarsal, while serving as warden of marches on the bank of Narmada, wrote to Jai Singh, the governor of Malwa, early in May, 1714. " The Marathas wanted to encamp on this side of the Narmada but now have encamped on the other, on account of our presence. They had intentions of aggression after the rains. When we three, with our armies, block their way they dare not cross the river. They will be beaten by the good luck of the Emperor. I am watchful and request you also to be equally alert as the Marathas are cunning and fradulant."[3]

---

1. Akhbarat (Sarkar's collections) Vol.12. Letter of Jai Singh to Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk on his victory over jats p. 105. Akhbarat (Persian Vol.2.Additional) dated March 1718. p. 29.
2. M.U. Vol.II. p.510., Irvine Vol I. 230.
3. Akhbarat - dated May, 1714.(Misc: Vol.II.pp.271-74.

The Suppression of the Sikhs:

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh[1], the leadership of the Sikhs had passed into the hands of Banda, an ascetic of Byragi order, living in a princely fashion in the Deccan[2]. Reaching Punjab in 1709, he proclaimed himself the successor of the deceased Guru, summoned the Sikhs to his standard, and availing of the absence of Bahadur Shah in the South, began to ravage villages and towns. He fought a ghastly battle with Wazir Khan, the Faujdar of Sirhind, and killed him with his followers[3]. " He possessed himself of the town of Sirhind, and many districts of the Doab, as far as Buria, Saharanpur, and Sadhora, on both the banks of the river Jamuna, where he committed unlimited excess, razing all public edifices, such as mosques, colleges, mausoleums and palaces, killing or taking the faithful of every age and sex and plundering in the most cruel severity[4]" The cruel activities of theSikhs alarmed the government. In haste peace was patched up with the Rajputs, and, Bahadur Shah leaving Ajmer on June 27, 1710, without halting at Agra and Delhi marched straight into Punjab. In the meantime, the spiritual leader of the

---

1. He was the son of Guru Tegh Bahadur and succeeded him to the leadership of the Sikhs. For twenty years he devoted himself in fighting. Emerging out of his seclusion he fought the Hindu Rajas of the hills and converted large number of persons living in the heighbouring land. Taking advantage of Alamgir's absence in the Deccan, he built four new forts of Lohgarh, Anandgarh, Phoolgarh and Fatehgarh. After the death of Alamgir, Bahadur Shah treated him kindly, bestowed a robe of honour and took him to Deccan. But like the Rajput chiefs he did not respond to this generous treatment and left the camp. He is said to have been mortally wounded somewhere in the South.(Vide Cunnuigham's History of the Sikhs). Evolution of Khalsa by I.Banerji, Chap. III. p.p.64-91. Gupta, Studies in later Mughul. History of the Panjab. Chap.III.pp.38-45. Irving. Vol.I. pp.84-92.
2. Cunningham, p. 86.
3. Iradat, f.78(b).
4. Iradat, f. 78(b).

Sikhs had destroyed Batala, killing men and women in cold ~~bolld~~ blood, burning all houses in the city, occupied Sadhura (26 miles east of Ambala) which was later known as Qatlgarh (place of killing) on account of the great massacre of the inhabitants, and captured Mukhlispur where he established his headquarters and issued his coins and renamed it as Lohgarh.[1] The place was beseiged in the month of December, 1710, by the imperial troops. The defenders fought desperately but, reduced to extremities, fled pellmell into the hills. The leader too effected his escape one night into the wildest parts of the snowy range of the Himalays.[2] Bahadur Shah after the termination of hostilities returned to Lahore where he died in February, 1712.

In the confusion that arose after his death amongst the deceased Emperor's sons, Banda gained fresh strength. He again made his appearance in the plains and built a large fort near Lohgarh to which the name of Gurdaspur was given. Upon the renewal of their military activities, Farrukh-Siyar ordered Abdul Samad Khan, governor of Lahore, to extripate the insurgents.[3] The fort was invested in 1713, and the rebels, reduced to sore straits, left the place and retreated towards Lohgarh. When this place was surrounded by the Mughuls, the Guru and his followers could not hold on there, and insuing forth, they again carried fire and sword in the open neighbouring land. The Emperor much enraged at his failure, rebuked the governor and despatched reinforcement under Qamruddin Khan, Afrasyab Khan, Raja Gopal Singh Bhaduriya, Raja Udait Singh Bundela and Muzaffar Khan.[4]

---

1. Latif . p. 275., Irvine, p. 97-8.(Vol.I).
2. Ibid. p. 46.
3. K.K. p. 764.
4. Ibid.

to mischief-mongering. They made the Emperor suspicious of their loyalty by creating in his mind fear of their growing power. They represented to him that the two brothers considered His Majesty as their own creature, and to keep him under their control, they usurped all the fair jagirs, important posts, and treasures lying in the mansions of the former Amirs allotted to him. Royal authority, they added, would be reduced to mockery, if the danger was not averted before it could assume any high dimensions. This task, they suggested, should be entrusted to two prominent faithful servants (Khawaja Asim and Mir Jumla) and their positions strengthened by financial grants and military equipment. Added to these seeds of suspicions sowed by the selfish nobles in the Emperor's mind were superstitious fears based on a prophecy which had got wide circulation in a short time. It was said that after Bahadur Shah's death his youngest descendents would reign and they would be succeeded by a Saiyid. Farrukh-Siyar, devoid of prudence and farsightedness, believed in the statements and began to promote and encourage them in their positions and plans against the ministers. " For a couple of weeks after Farrukh-Siyar's entry into Delhi, the appearance of amity was preserved. The disputes that began raged round two things, the nominations to office and the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of Jahandar Shah nobles."[1] These dissensions were, however, patched up by the demands of expediency, but a thorough reconciliation could not be effected, and hearts filled with suspicions and jealousies never came close to each other. To thwart the sound work of administration carried by the ministers,

---

1. Irvine. p. 283. Vol. I.
2. Warid, p. 509.

the favourites were encouraged to interfere and discredit them. The Emperor even instigated Raja Ajit Singh[1] and Daud Khan to fight against Husain Ali Khan and kill him. Several attempts were made to seize the person of Abdullah Khan during the absence of Husain Ali Khan in the South. But the Emperor was wanting in determined courage and constancy; he had no heart to undertake any serious measure and to carry out them to the last extremity. His favourites and other nobles whom he had induced to use their resources in his cause lost faith in him and went to the side of his enemies and consequesntly all efforts in this direction ended in smoke. The first phase of the tussle commenced when quarrel broke out on the issue of spoils and ended with the dismissals of Husain Ali Khan and Mir Jumla from the court to Deccan and Bihar respectively. The second one started on the return of Mir Jumla from Lahore, where he had been sent after his arrival at Delhi from Patna, and the attempts of the Emperor to get the Prime Minister (S. Abdullah Khan) killed; it came to a head when Husain Ali Khan too reached the capital at the urgent call of his brother and ended in a dreadful tragedy. On the fateful day of 9th Rabi II, (28th February, 1719) Farrukh-Siyar was arrested by Qutbul Mulk who had occupied the fort and the palace with his own men a day before; a needle was passed through his eyes which blinded him, and he was thrown in the room over the Tirpoliya within the fortress. Rafi-ud-darjat, youngest son of Rafi-suh-shan was proclaimed Emperor under the titles of Abul-Barkat, Sultan Shamsuddin, Muhammad Rafi-ud-darjat, Badshah, Ghazi, on the same day when the ill-fated Farrukh-Siyar had been

---

[1] Warid, p. 509.

deposed.[1]

Now all power passed into the hands of the Saiyid Brothers. The ultimate authority to appoint and dismiss officers was in their hands. Rafi-ud-darjat, a consumptive youth of 20 years of age, was only shadowy figure; he had little liberty to exervice his regal powers. His palace was guarded by soldiers in whom Saiyids had full trust; he was seldom allowed to come out and meet the people, even his meals were served with the permission of his tutor, Himat Khan, a Barha Saiyid. Victim of consumption and addicted to the use of opium, Rafi-du-darjat was growing weaker and weaker day by day. The Mughul Emperor felt that his end was near, and he expressed the wish to retire and die peacefully if his elder brother, Rafi-ud-Daulah, was raised to the throne. Accordingly, Rafi-ud-darjat was deposed, and Rafiu-du-Daulah was seated on the throne on 6th June, 1719. After a reign of three months and 9 days (9th Rabi II - 17th Rajab, 1131 H, 1719) and at the age of 20 years, Rafi-ud-darjat died, and was buried near the shrine of Khawaja Qutbuddin.[2] Rafi-

---

1. Tarih-i-Muzaffari - 9. 182., K.K.pp.812-14., Warid,pp.538-39. Shiv Das. p. 63., Qasim Lahori, pp. 106-7., Mirza Muhammad ff.118-19.
   The room in which Farrukh-Siyar had been imprisoned was a "bare dark, unfurnished hole, containing nothing but a bowl for food, a pot of water for ablutions, and a vessel with some drinking water." There he led a miserable life; for days together he was deprived of water for necessary ablutions, and "having no water he was forced to tear off pieces from his clothes to clean himself," and unsuitable food was brought before him. Inspite of all these hardships and sufferings, he still dreamt of his restoration, and made repeated overtures to his enemies to set him free, promising that all powers shall reside with them. Being refused, the prisoner tried to effect his escape and take refuge with Raja Jai Singh. It was also rumoured that Farrukh-Siyar could still see and he would be soon assisted by the armies of Raja Jai Singh who was to march on Delhi. Frightened by these rumours, the Saiyid Brothers resolved to do away with their wretched prisoner. On the night between 8th and 9th Jamadi II, 1131 H, (27th-28th April, 1719) Farrukh-Siyar was executed and buried in the crypt of Humayun's tomb. K.K. p.820.(Vide Irvine, Vol.I. pp. 368-94).
2. K.K. p. 817.

-ud-Daulah was also a puppet in the hands of the Saiyids. " His comingout and going in, his appearance in the audience-hall, what he ate and what he wore, his every act was under the control of Himat Khan Barha. He was not allowed to attend the public prayers on Friday, to go hunting, or to converse with any nobles, unless one of the two Saiyids or his guardian was present."[1] Like his predecessor, Rafi-ud-Daulah suffered from consumption, and as he was opium eater, an attack of diarrhoea proved fatal to his health. He died after a short reign of four months and 16 days on 18th September, 1719. The news, however, were concealted till another prince was brought from Delhi and crowned. The Prince on whom the royal sceptre was bestowed, was Roshan Akhtar, who later became famous as Muhammad Shah.

---

1. Irvine, Vol. I. p. 415.

C H A P T E R I.

ACCESSION AND EARLY YEARS.

EARLY LIFE:

Prince Roshan Akhtar, who now ascended the throne on 15th Zil Qada, 1131 A.H. (28th September, 1719) under the title of Abdul Fath Nasiruddin Muhammad Shah Ghazi, was the son of Prince Jahan Shah, son of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah, son of Aurangzeb. His mother's name was Nawab Qudsia Fakhrul Nisa Begum offically known as Hazrat Begum. He was born at Ghazni on Friday, 23rd Rabi I, 1114 A.H. (16th August, 1702) and now in the 18th (Lunar) year.[1] The Prince remained in prison with his mother from the beginning of Jahandar Shah's reign till he was elevated to the throne.[2] Contemporary records are silent about his early life. He had, however, received the conventional education, for we find him later on practising archery, riding and indulging in music and other polite arts.[3]

Accession:

After the death of Rafi-ud-Daulah,[4] the Saiyid brothers sent Ghulam Ali Khan, son of Saiyid Khan Jahan, their maternal uncle, escorted by 500 horse, from Akbarabad, to Delhi with a Farman to Muhamrad Yar Khan, the custodian of the fort, instructing

---

1. Ashob.p. 64.
   Warid. p. 56C.
   K.K. p. 940. He gives the date as 11th Zil Qada.
   T.M. p. 196. His date is 23rd Rabi I, 1114 A.H.
   Kamwar. f. 173 (a)
   Irvine. Vol. II. P.1.
   Jam-i-Jam - According to him 17th Zil Qada 1131 A.H.was the date.
2. Ashob . p. 68.
   K.K. p. 940.
3. His younger brother, Farkhand-Akhtar, most beautiful and brave already killed, his another brother Aochal Shah was with him in the prison. Ashob. p.69.
4. Irvine Vol.I. pp. 430-32.

him to take out Sultan Ibrahim, son of Rafi-ush-Shan, and hand him over to the envoy. But as chance would have it, the Custodian without identifying the prince handed over Prince Roshan Akhtar to Ghulam Ali. When the party reached Agra, the brothers, guided by the dictates of expediencey, accepted the accidental choice and gave the Prince the title of Muhammad Shah.[1] The ceremony of enthronment took place at Bidypur* on the 15th Zil Qada 1131 A.H. (28th September, 1719) and Roshan Akhtar was proclaimed as Emperor. Coins were struck and Khutba read in his name. It was directed that the commencement of the reign should be fixed from the time of the removal of Farrukh-Siyar from the throne. The two brothers offered presents and paid homage to Muhammad Shah.[2]

---

1. Warid. p. 550.
   K.K. p. 840
   According to Ashob (p.7) Ghulam Ali Khan had been sent with strict orders to bring Roshan Akhtar, accompanied by his mother with all care and respect. He was to be mounted on an elephant, and in all dignity and honour was to be taken out of the capital and brought to Agra.
   Qasim. (p.126) supports this statement.
   The author of Tarikh-i-Ali (f.66- a) says that it was Qutbul Mulk who himself brought Roshan Akhtar from Delhi. This is not correct.

* *The Pargana Bidyapur is four miles west of Tajpur, a Tahsil in Agra division. Irvine is of opinion that Tajpur was the place of enthronment. Irvine.Vol.II p.1.

2. T.M. pp. 186-88.
   K.K. pp. 840-41.

His relations with the Saiyid brothers:

Muhammad Shah wore the imperial crown at a time when there was still a desire for peace and respect for constituted authority in the provinces. The Central Government though weakened royal authority was still respected and inspired awe among the people. The prospects for a long and successful rule were not so dark as later when the authority of the Emperor was eclipsed by the ambitious wrangling for power of the various political parties. The noblemen who now directed the affairs of the state had got their supremacy recognised by all throughout the dominions. They continued to grow in power behind the pompous frontage of the throne which they could use to further their own interest.

Muhammad Shah possessed neither the talents of a soldier, nor the abilities of statesman. The best part of his youth had passed in the prison. Untrained in the arts of civil administration, and in the conduct of military operations, he proved utterly unfit to face new problems or to settle the old ones. A handsome youth with refined manners and easy disposition, his impulses were generous, and trustful and he was averse to cruelty and prone to forgiveness.[1] His hands were unstained with blood, and no act of cruelty stands out against him. In him the love of ease and excessive sensuality encouraged by the affection of his mother and the temptations of the ladies of the harem had dwarfed his intellect and impaired his physical powers. His simplicity and ignorance of state craft soon rendered him a slave to his attendants who gradually completely dominated him.

---

1. Tarih-i-Hind p. 469.
   T.M. p. 185.
   K.K. p. 840.

mansabdar of 5,000/5,000 and held his office in his own house.[1]

COMPROMISE WITH RAJA JAI SINGH:

The secret of their success lay in the weakness of the monarch whom they had installed on the Mughul throne, and their alliances with factions that had gained power and prestige in the recent times. Maharaja Ajit Singh, Raja Shahu, and Churaman Jat had already been won over; the Mughul group was kept at bay; Raja Jai Singh, and Chabella Ram, the two faithful partisans of Farrukh-Siyar were still unsubdued and had now to be dealt with.

Raja Jai Singh who had been ordered by the short sighted Emperor, Farrukh-Siyar, to quit the capital on the 3rd Rabi II, (22nd February 1719) had remained in Sarai Sahil to watch the sanguine spectacle on the fateful morning of the 9th Rabi II, 1131 A.H. (28th February, 1719) finally left Delhi for Amber in sullen dejection.[2] Remorselessly betrayed by one in whom he had placed his faith and to whom he had clung to the last, Raja Jai Singh failed in his purpose of gaining a position of preeminence at the imperial court and in Rajputana as Raja Ajit Singh occupied. But the injuries of the past and the fears of the future led him to make use of the popular discontent in the capital against his sworn enemies. A man of wide vision and in intrepit spirit, Jai Singh founded his hopes on the over-throw of the present regime, a work which was easy some months before when he had persuaded in vain his patron sovereign to act on his suggestion.

---

1. Miratul Haqaiq. f. 163 (b)
2. Shiv Das. pp. 57-58.

Two risings, one headed by Mitar Sen who installed Neku-Siyar[1] as Emperor in Agra on 29th Jamadi II, (18th May, 1719) and the other by Shaista Khan,[2] maternal uncle of Farrukh-Siyar at Delhi in the last week of Rajab 1131 A.H. (Ist week of June, 1719) were the outcome of the conspiratorial designs of Jai Singh. Immaturity of the plan, and the disunity among the conspirators were the chief causes of the failure of these rebellions. As Nizamul Mulk did not join them and Chabella Ram remained engrossed in the suppression of Jaswant Singh in his own province, Jai Singh could not march further than Toda Tank, which he had reached at the head of 9 or 10 thousand horsemen, accompanied by the zamindars whom he had provoked to take up arms against the government.[3]

---

1. Neku-Siyar, the eldest surviving son of Prince Akbar, the fourth son of Alamgir had lived in Akbarabad fort as State prisoner since the rebellion of his father (January, 1681). He was now 40 years, and passed nearly 38 years in prison. He was raised to the throne on 18th May, 1719, at Agra by one Mitar Sen, who lived with the Prince in the fort and had acquired much influence through his contact with Husain Ali Khan. Mitar Sen was made the wazir with the title of Raja Birbal, and the rank of 7,000 horse. He had met Raja Jai Singh and discussed with him terms of collaboration. After his accession Neku-Siyar made overtures for peace which were rejected Ghairat Khan and Haider Quli Khan were already there besieging the fort, Husain Ali Khan also reached the spot on 8th July, 1719, and the garrison surrendered the fort. Mitar Sen committed suicide, and Neku-Siyar was brought as a prisoner but pardended by the Saiyid brothers. K.K. pp. 827-37.
2. Shaista Khan, the maternal uncle of Farrukh-Siyar, raised the banner of revolt against the Saiyids at Delhi in league with Jai Singh whom he kept informed of all affairs. But on 10th June, 1719, his mansion was stormed and all his properties plundered. Other nobles who were in alliance with him left Delhi and joined Jai Singh. They were Ruhulla Khan, Tahavvar Khan and Salamat Khan. K.K. pp. 831-32.
3. K.K. p. 832.

Revolt of Raja Chabella Ram and peace made with Girdhar Bahadur.

Peace was hardly patched up with Jai Singh, when the rumblings of a new menace rose ominously in the east. There the standard of insurrection was unfurled by Raja Chabella Ram Nagar, the governor of Allahabad.[1] With the Saiyid brothers, against whom he now resolved to measure his strength, the Raja had shared the sufferings and hardships in the battle of Agra (10th January, 1713) which decided the fate of Jahandar Shah and raised Farrukh-Siyar to the throne. But of the fruits of this hard-won victory he found a little share. Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk did not agree to his appointment as the Diwan of Khalsa, for which the Emperor insisted in vain.[2] His devotion to Farrukh-Siyar, his mental superiority and his political and military experience, had excited in him hopes of rapid promotion in the government, if he could manage to stay in the imperial court as a minister. Apprehensive lest he might constitute a danger by strengthening the hands of the Emperor, in the court, the Saiyid brothers cut him off from the main spring of politics, and sent him to Akbarabad, as governor. There he was soon

---

1. Raja Chabella Ram Nagar, son of Mehta Bhagwati Prasad, belonged to the respectable family of Nagar Brahmans, and was born at Agra. His brother Raja Daya Ram had died in war of succession among the sons of Bahadur Shah in 1712. He was a protege of Azimush Shah. When Farrukh-Siyar proclaimed himself Emperor, he was then Faujdar of Chakla Karra Manikpur, and though pressure was put on him by Prince Azzudin, son of Jahandar Shah, he rejected overtures and joined the standard of Farrukh-Siyar. In the battle of Agra he played a conspicuous part, and later on was raised to high power by the new Emperor. Raja Girdhar Bahadur was the son of Raja Daya Ram. M.U. p.
2. Irvine . pp. 383-84.(Vol.I.)

There he was soon replaced by Samsam-ud-Daulah and henceforth he maintained an attitude of sullen hostility to the Delhi faction.

After some time he was appointed the governor of Allahabad with the Faujdari of Piswara, Khairabad and Oudh. But conditions were not peaceful there. The rajas and zamindars of the region, instigated and supported by the two ministers, were creating disturbances by rising into open revolt against the governor. Inspite of his sadly disproportionate resources to those of the insurgents[1], the governor succeeded to overcome them.

The reports of his triumph over the rebels and the knowledge of the Raja's intention to espouse the cause of Neku-Siyar, exasperated the brothers and moved them to send armies against him at Allahabad[2]. Meanwhile letters were addressed to the Raja by the minister assuring him the safety of his person, and the security of his possession. He was urged to dispell fears and suspicions, and attend the court where the confirmation of his appointment would be made. He was further informed that an addition of 500 Zat had been made in the mansab of his nephew, Girdhar Bahadur, and he (Raja) could send him if he himself was unable to come[3]. But neither conciliatory letters nor military threat could persuade him to forgo his legitimate claims to his possessions or yield to the will of the dictators. He like a brave man girded his loins to vindicate the honour by an appeal to the sword. After making preparation adequate to the importance of the issue, and entrusting the defence of

---

1. About his resources he wrote that if income was one thousand the expenditure was three thousands. Ajaibul Afaq. pp.73-76.
2. Bal Mukand Nama p. 21.
3. Ajaibul Afaq. p. 105.
   Bal Mukand Nama. letter No.3 pp. 22-25.

fort to the veteran Girdhar Bahadur, he came out from the city and pitched his standard on the plain to withstand the onset of the imperial forces.[1] But destiny imposed its fatal arbitration before the clash of arms could settle the dispute. Raja Chabella Ram received a severe attack of paralysis from which he never recovered and died in November, 1719.[2]

Girdhar Bahadur now took up the unfinished work of his deceased uncle. That daring youth, started the task of fortifications by digging up channel filled with waters from the Ganges and the Jumna, and in front of it built up several small earthen forts. Inside the forts granaries and arsenals were built and along its ramparts engines of war were placed. On the road running along the bank of the rivers, and through which the royal treasury sent by Murshid Quli Khan, governor of Bengal, was to pass, an officer at the head of considerable force was posted to seize the money.[3] Thus the enthusiasm of the soldiers which, on the death of Chabella Ram, was damped, was rekindled by the vigour and skill displayed by their present leader, and by the knowledge of the impregnable character of their resources.

Early the Saiyid brothers had attempted compromise with him by promising him the Subedari of Oudh including the Faujdari of Lucknow and Gorakhpur, if he surrendered Allahabad fort.[4]

---

1. Balmukand Nama p. 106.
2. K.K. p.842., Shiv Das. p. 76., T.N. p. 187., Qasim. p. 128. Kanwar f. 173 (b)
   The transports of joy on the news of their enemy's death so much delighted them that drums were beaten for its announcement. Husain Ali Khan, in his usual strain expressed that his grief was that the head of the Raja was not beheld by the people from one city to the other on the point of spear.K.K.p.842
3. K.K. p. 842., T.N. p. 188., Shiv Das. p. 76., Qasim. p. 129.
   According to Qasim the treasure had been seized by the men of Girdhar Bahadur. Shiv Das on the other hand states that it was still at Patna. It had 90 lakhs of rupees. In the light of letters to Murshid Quli Khan by the minister, the second statement is correct. Balmukand Nama.

This offer was rejected on the pretext of performing the formal obsequies[1] of his uncle, which will take one year and he will have to stay in Allahabad for the period.[1]

The ministers replied to the refusal of their overtures by sending yet another military expedition consisting of 50 thousand soldiers and heavy artillery under the supreme command of Haider Quli Khan accompanied by other officials.[2]

Reaching Allahabad, he surveyed the situation and opened operations with determination. The firece fighting waged on for several days, in which the defence lines of the enemy were shattered and they were dirven to the very walls of the fort. Despair seized Girdhar and he feared lest in keeping up the contest anymore, the chances of bargaining might be irretrievably lost.[3] Worn down and disheartened, he sued for peace.

The officials present on the scene informed the ministers of the change in the conduct of the rebel. Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk, wrote to Shah Ali Khan that His Majesty, out of magnanimity and mercy pardoned the rebel's guilt, and the subah of Oudh with the Faujdari of its adjacent district was restored to him, the Raja should be asked to leave the fort for his new province after handing over the charge of the civil and military

---

1. T.M. p. 188.
   K.K. p. 843.
2. Shiv Das. p.76., K.K. p. 844., Qasim.p.131., T.M. p.189.
   K.K. Kamwar. f. 173 (b)
   The original name of Haider Quli Khan was Muhammad Raza. In the reign of Farrukh-Siyar he was made Diwan of Deccan, with the title of Haider Quli Khan. In the first year of Muhammad Shah's reign he was exalted to the post of Mir Atash. He had taken part in the compaign against Mitar Sen at Agra.
3. Irvine . Vol. II. pp. 11-12.

officers of Allahabad province.[1] To Haider Quli Khan orders were sent to resume his efforts to reach adjustments with Girdhar and satisfy him that the sanad would be sent later on. If the latter still persisted in his obstinacy, coercion was the only recourse left to them.[2] Haider Quli Khan failed in his efforts to assure the Raja of the sincerity of the promises made to him.* Negotiations broke down, and hostilities were commenced anew. Outraged at this development, the minister, who was expecting an early settlement of the issue, again wrote to Haider Quli Khan to adopt drastic measures against the rebel, and he with his followers should either be killed or arrested.[3]

Husain Ali Khan duly aware of the magnitude of the danger that faced the government, declared his intention of marching with his army to Allahabd and curb the presumptions of the rebel.[4] But Qutul Mulk distrusted his brother and feared his ambition. He wanted to appropriate to himself the spoils of the fort as he had done after the defeat and surrender of Mitar Sen at Agra.[5] A dispute arose between the two brothers as to who should be leader of the expedition. Saiyid Abdullah argued that the capture of Agra fort was to his credit, now Allahabad should be his sphere for earning a military reputation. As a result of the advice of Raja Ratan Chand who did not like these dissensions, Husain Ali gave way.[6]

---

1. Bal Mukand Nama letter No.4.
2. Ibid. letter No.9.
* Shiv Das. p.77.
3. Bal Mukand Nama letter No.8.
4. Qasim. p. 131.
5. K.K. p. 845.
6. Ibid.

Meanwhile Girdhar Bahadur suggested the name of Raja Ratan Chand, as an agreeable representative for the government interview.[1] The appeal after mutual consultations was accepted by the ministers. The Raja who was honoured with a robe of honour, and at the head of 12 thousand horse and foot, and 60 large guns started on 3rd April, 1720, for Allahabad. There he met Girdhar Bahadur, presented him gifts and carried on negotiations with him in a cordial atmosphere.[2]

The terms of peace offered by Raja Ratan Chand to Girdhar were, the government of Oudh with all the divisions dependent thereon, and the right to appoint all the military and civil subordinate officers.[c] He was also to get a gift of thirty lakhs of rupees, payable from the Bengal remittance, together with a jewelled turban ornament, a special dress of honour and an elephant from the Emperor. Girdhar Bahadur accepted these terms, and the final settlement was made on oath.

Conflict between Nizamul Mulk and Saiyid Brothers.

Things ill begun seldom end well. The peace that was made with Raja Jai Singh and Raja Girdhar Bahadur brought to the Saiyid brothers no permanent relief. New dangers long apprehended were nowthere to engage their attention and try their skill and diplomacy.

Of all their rivals, Nizamul Mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan towered high as powerful and influential leaders of the Mughuls.

---

1. K.K.p. 545.
   T.M. p. 190.
   Shiv Das. p. 77.
2. Ibid.
3. K.K. p. 546.
   Shiv Das. p. 78.
   Qasim. p. 133.
   Kamwar. f. 194 (a)

Heroes of many a battle under Alamgir in the Deccan, they had besides their courage and skill, political wisdom and diplomacy. The Saiyids of Barha looked raw youths before these commanding personalities and they rightly feared their opposition. But the Mughul leaders had lost much of their influence at the Imperial Court during years that followed Alamgir's death. As previously noticed during the reigns of Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah, Nizamul Mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan had found no chance of dominating the affairs of the government undisputedly, as they had not supported the cause of these monarchs in the wars of succession. And when they deserted Jahandar Shah and joined the standards of Farrukh-Siyar in the battle of Agra (10th Jan: 1713), the Saiyid brothers had come out as strong rivials to block their way to power and prosperity. During this period new favourites and new factions had appeared to dominate the political stage, much to the chagrin of these Mughul leaders. Their followers likewise were overshadowed and cast into the background by the new band of royal servants who divided the wealth and offices of the kingdom among themselves. The Mughuls and the old servants, stripped of their ranks and possessions, lived in obscurity and isolation.

Nizamul Mulk, as governor of Malwa was devoting his time and attention to improve the conditions of the province, disturbed by local and external disorders. During the period that intervened between the death of Alamgir and the accession of the present Emperor,Malwa witnessed the rise of Rajput princes, the struggle of Kota-Bundi States, the attempts of the Marathas to establish themselves beyond Narmada, the rapid changes of the governors who more often sent their own deputies in the province. As a result, the zamindars and Faujdars became self-

charges of keeping Marahamat Khan in his service, and other charges relating to the removal of a zamindar in Pargana Talam and some disputes about land, and asked him (the vakil) to report to his master the conversation. In his defence Nizamul Mulk argued that Maratha menace necessitated the increase in men and material, the Amirul Umra should have examined the reports in the light of his recently-acquired experience while passing though this troubled area; and his previous record of loyalty was a sufficient refutation of motives imputed by professional trouble-makers, the news writers, for had it ever been his intention to rise against them, no better opportunity could present itself than that afforded by Neku-Siyar who was in arms and had appealed to him for his succour.[1]

The cogency of these reasons did not prove effacious. It rather heightened his suspicion and jealousy of Nizamul Mulk. Husain Ali Khan had already taken the bit between his teeth, and nothing was to stop him from striking his adversary down. Nizamul Mulk was soon deprived of his present post, although a list of other provinces including Agra, Allahabad, Multan and Burhanpur was put to him from which he was to choose any one as his future charge. This was a difficult matter, and the choice lay between open revolt and abject surrender. Husain Ali was satisfied that in any case victory would be his. If his enemy was not going to be inveigled into acquiescence, military operations would break him. Accordingly Dilawar Ali Khan was selected for the task. Still the struggle between Bhim Singh and Salam Singh was in its throes, and Dilawar Ali Khan had been sent to punish the latter for his alliance with Raja Jai Singh.

---

1. Nizam's letter given by Shiv Dass p. 80.

After his success over Salam Singh, Dilavar Ali Khan with a force of 15 thousand, including the contingents of Bhim Singh Hada and Jag Singh Marwai, was awaiting further instructions from the centre.[1]

Muhammad Shah was a mere figure-head grossly robbed of his prerogatives and princely honours, and reduced to a state of semi-confinement within the walls of the palace. All power rested with his protectors and their partisans who had been placed in key positions. In utter helplessness he brooded over the loss of his freedom; but his knowledge of the fact that had overtaken his predecessors prevented him from making a move that might end in disaster. His mother, however, was anxious to find a way out of this predicament. The factious rivalry awakened new hopes and she was quick to notice Mughul discontentment and use those officers as pawns in her dexterous manoeuvres to overthrow the enemy.

The Mughuls who thought themselves to be the architects of the Empire, were now deprived of position, they were entitled to possess by birth, merit and service, their offices were taken, their possessions confiscated, their influence undermined and they lived a life of poverty and distress. To their disgust Ratan Chand, hated and despised by all, was supreme and interfered even in religious affairs.[2] Khafi Khan writes; " When the representatives of the house of Timur lost the control of the state, the great and the small of all classes were distrusted with the arrogance of the two brothers, and by the fact of the general control of civil and revenue affairs being under the

---

1. K.K., p. 851., Varid p. 543., T.M. p. 194., Shiv Das. p.81.
2. Ashob.p. 73,82., K.K. p. 905., T.M. p. 195.

direction of Ratan Chand. For excepting men of Barha and the shop-keeping class, no one found any favour. The nobility of every province carried on their existence in disgrace and distrust."[1]

They recognised a common danger and resolved upon joint efforts to meet it. Muhammad Amin Khan, the head of the Mughul party in the capital was serving as second Bakshi since his reconciliation with the two brothers. He was an accomplished hypocrite//, past-master of double game and a greedy schemer. He hated the Saiyids and all those who stood around them. He maintained that birth and talents should be the only standards for one's supremacy, not the temporary pre-eminence acquired only by the change of circumstances. He was proud of his race which he believed, could only be the proper agency for running the Mughul government. His insatiable craving after power and restless scheming disposition were equally to the task of restoring the old set-up of things. " Pride, courage and honour, continually spurred this lion-hearted noble to make an end of this state of things and to take revenge."[2]

He assured Muhammad Shah that Nizamul Mulk was making preparation of war against the Saiyids and the Emperor would be soon freed from his bondage. Nizamul Mulk was a divinely - appointed agent to uproot the foundations of the Saiyids ascendancy, and punish the wrongs done to the house of Timur, and success, will crown his efforts if he was inspired with hope and assured of support in the hour of need. The Emperor and his mother on the suggestions and instigation of Muhammad Amin Khan wrote

---

1. K.K. p. 905.,
2. K.K. p. 905.

letters to the Nizam urging him to break the bondange under which he (Muhammad Shah) was living a life of misery and dependence.[1] Oneof the letters informed him " that the constraint used by the Saiyids was so strict that he had only liberty to go to service on Sabhath, and that he had no power of giving any orders; that the Saiyids, in their futile scheming, projected, after settling the affairs of Neku-Siyar and Girdhar, to get rid of him (Nizam) and to do as they pleased; that they(Muhammad Shah/and his mother) had full reliance on him (Nizamul Mulk), that he would not fail in the loyalty which his ancestors had ever exhibited."[2] In another letter, Muhammad Shah advised him not to march to the north and attend the courts, but to say on in the south and increas his power. There was a probability that hearing the news of his northward march the Saiyids would either send their forces or would themselves start to check his advance. He further informed him that an imperial Farman had been sent to Husain Afghan of Qasur,[3] promising him mansab, title and subedari of Lahore, on the condition that he (Husain Afghan) should fight with Abdul Samad Khan, the governor, and kill him. In the same way, they were making plans to destroy him (Nizamul Mulk) and Muhammad Amin Khan.[4]

---

1. K.K. p. 851.
   Shah Nama Deccan. p. 115.
2. Ibid.
3. Husain Khan Afghan, the Faujdar of Qasur, was for long in arms against the governor of Lahore, Abdul Samad Khan Bahadur Dler Jang. Early attempts of the governor to supress him had been frustrated. Now encouraged by the central government he set out with a force of 10,000 thousand horse (Kamwar puts the number as 20,000.175,b) and met the governor's army at a distance of 20 kos from Qasur. The engagement was bloody and decisive. The battle took place on 6th Jamadi I, 1132 A.H. in which Husain Ali Khan was killed, and his army melted away. The notable loss on the side of the governor was of Karim Quli Khan, his Amil. T.M. (p.175); Kamwar (f. 175 b, 176 a). K.K. (p.861); Qasim (p.142).
4. Majmuai Inshai wala Jahi, pp. 55-58.

Nizamul Mulk's victory over Dilawar Ali Khan.

Inspite of the threat of war Nizamul Mulk refused to leave Malwa, for it was the time of harvest, his only hope to meet the expenses of the army.[1] Chagrined and mortified beyond limits, Husain Ali Khan gave went to his rage by upraiding his elder brother for his lack of courage and farsightedness.[2] Dilawar Ali Khan was urged to cross Chambal with 70 thousand horse. Alam Ali Khan was asked to appear on the bank of Narmada with all the fighting units from the Deccan while mace-bearers were sent with imperial Farmans to bring Nizamul Mulk to the court.[3] Intelligence of these transactions had reached Nizamul Mulk through his agent at the court, Diyanat Khan, who urged him not to waste time but act quickly. His relations and followers were ready to hazard all for him, but Nizamul Mulk was hesitant to take up arms at this moment. His traditional loyalty to the imperial cause, his aversion to internecine wars and his doubts as to the issue made him think before he took his final step. But it was now the question of his honour and that of his family. " I have lived, said the Nizam to Muhammad Ghiyas Khan, " respected from the days of the late Emperor Alamgir, and for the few more days that may be vouchsafed to me, I trust I may be saved from dishonour."[4] Besides, he claimed that it was his duty as a loyal subject to save the honour of the Emperor. He, therefore, resolved " to resist his antagonists even if they might bring all Hindustan against him."

He turned to the Deccan from where he could fight against his enemies.

---

1. T.M. p. 194.
   Siyar p. 47.
2. Ahwal. f. 153 (a). Shah Nama Deccan, p. 117.
3. T.M. p. 194. Ahwal. 153., Hadiqat p. p.96.
4. Ahwal. f. 194 (a)

Nizamul Mulk, amidst torrential rains, set out from Ujjan, made three marches towards Agra, and then turned back suddenly on Mandsaur, and leaving it on 23rd April, 1720, he again reached Ujjan in a short time. From there the army followed the road to Kayath, a village on the way of Sirônj, and turning to south he finally crossed the Narmada at the ford of Akbarpur on 8th May, 1720.[1] He commanded an army of nearly 14 thousand horse and foot, which included such persons of approved fidelity, like Abdul Rahim Khan, Riyat Khan, Qadir Dad Khan, Mutawassil Khan, Inayat Khan and others.[2]

His entry into the Deccan marked the beginning of an unbroken series of triumphs over his enemies. He captured Asirgarh, famous for its impregnability. This he secured by bribing the garrison, as he could not afford a long siege. On 20th May Marahamat Khan entered the fortress, and there Nizam Mulk left his two sons, Ghaziuddin Khan, and Mir Ahmad Nasir Jang and spare baggage.[3] From Asirgarh Nizamul Mulk directed Ghiyas Khan to capture the city of Burhanpur. Muhammad Anwar Khan, the Faujdar, assisted by a force sent by Alam Ali Khan, tried to resist Ghiyas Khan, who lay encamped in Lal Bagh, but the resentment of the citizens and the desertion of other officials foredoomed his cause to failure, compelling him to sue for peace. He made an agreement with Ghiyas Khan and handed over the city to him. On 24th May, 1720, Anwar Khan, and Anwarullah Khan, Diwan of the province, along with all the officials and

---

1. K.K. p. 853., T.M. p. 201., Hadiqat p. 97., Ma'sir Nizami p.47. Sawaneh Deccan f. 92(a)., Ahwal f. 156(a).
2. K.K. pp. 853-54., T.M. p. 202., Ma'sir Asafi. p. 95.
3. Ahwal f. 157(b).

the leading citizens presented themselves before Nizamul Mulk who had arrived there the day before.[1] The occupation of Asirgarh and Burhanpur had raised Nizamul Mulk to the height of power and fame. To his regular forces were added army contingents under banners of different hues; his already considerable resources were increased and his noble treatment of the family of Saiyid Saifuddin Ali Khan won him the admiration of friend and foe.[2] This accession of power and prestige to Nizamul Mulk filled the hearts of the Saiyids with fear and jealousy. Husain Ali Khan now decided to go in person against the Nizam.[3] But Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk dissuaded him from hasty action and advised him to watch further developments, for everything was not lost, and still the losses could be retrieved by tactful handling of the situation. Alam Ali Khan and Raja Shahu, were on the spot, and they would find no difficulty in punishing the rebel. Thus letters were written to Alam Ali Khan, Raja Shahu and Balaji Vishawanath. Alam Ali Khan was informed that imperial Farmans had already been sent to the various officers of the province, and he should with their help and in collobration with Shankar ji Malhar prevent the Nizam from establishing his footing anywhere in the Deccan.

---

1. Local zamindars, Afghan chiefs an d Marathas contingents from Kolahpur under Chander San Jadvay had joined him. Shah Nama Deccan (p.117). Qasim (p.136). The mother of Saiyid Saifuddin Ali Khan, brother of the minister and the paymaster had arrived in Burhanpur when the city had passed into the control of the Nizam. She was now on her way to Delhi. The news of this perturbed much, and she, in order to save the honour of her family, offered jewels and money to the Nizam. But he refused to accept this, and conferred robe of honour on the messenger Muhammad Ali, and sent him back with some baskets of fruits for the children. He ordered one of his officers to escort the family upto the river Narmada with a force of 200 horsemen. K.K. (pp. 855). , T.M. (p203).
2. Ahwal f. 157(b).
3. Ibid.

Succour will be sent and Husain Ali Khan would also come.[1]

Acting on these instructions, Alam Ali Khan enlisted new troops by making liberal grants to Faujdars and the Zamindars. He at the head of large army of nearly 30 thousand, set out from Aurangabad on 7th June, 1720.[2] His plan of military operations was to join Dilawar Ali Khan who was also marching southward, and crush the Nizam. Dilawar Ali Khan with a force of 40,000 horses, and such notable chiefs as Raja Bhim Singh Hada, Gaj Singh and Dost Muhammad Rohilla had crossed Narmada on 6th June, 1720 and advanced as far as Hussainpur, while Nizamul Mulk was in Burhanpur.[3] They had hoped that Nizamul Mulk would shut himself in the fortress of Asirgarh, and as he would not have adequate provisions to hold out for long, his reduction would be an easy affair.[4]

The Nizam first persuaded Dilawar to refrain from the bloodshed of his co-religionists,[5] but his haughty disposition now inflamed by taunts of Husain Ali Khan who accused him of cowardice, spurred him to reject the advice and plunge himself in the war.[6] He wrote a very harsh letter which brought tears to the eyes of Nizamul Mulk. After sending his family, elephants

---

1. Bal Mukand Nama. Letters Nos. 26,15 and 16.
2. K.K. p. 874.
3. Ma'sir Asafi p. 97.
   Tarikh-i-Hind p. 475.
   K.K. p. 875.
   Ahwal f. 11(b)
   Swaneh Deccan f. 93(a)
   Shiv Das. p. 81.
   Qasim p. 138.
4. Ahwal f. 162(a)
5. Shiv Das. p. 82.
6. Ibid.
   Qasim p. 97.
   Warid p. 545.
   Ahwal f. 162(a)

and heavy baggage to Asirgarh, Nizamul Mulk started from Burhanpur on 15th June and after one week reached Ratanpur. Thence he moved out after four days to Pandhar, a hilly country, 32 miles from Burhanpur, and taking cover behind a stream that separated his camp from the position of Dilwar Ali Khan who was already there, he arranged his troops in battle order and concealed artillery men behind it.[1] On 19th June 1720, the armies engaged in battle.[3] The forces on either side were well-matched in gallantry and courage, but discipline and skill were the special merits of Nizam's army which in the end won victory for him. When Dilawar Ali Khan led an attack in person and crossed the stream he was shot dead by a bullet. Rao Bhim Singh and Raja Gaj Singh after intrepid charge also perished on the field of battle. The total loss in killed and wounded was four thousands and 12 thousands respectively.[4] The shattered columns saved themselves from annihilation by flight from the bloody field into Malwa, leaving enormous baggage behind them to be

---

1. "What manly virtue is there, nay is not a death-blow to honour, thus to flee from death and for the sake of saving this platry life, to climb so many mountains and cross so manydeserts? Would it not be well to confide in the all powerful and come out to meet the writer, so that side by side we might return to the Presence, where exceeding exertion will be made for the pardon of that exalted one. Otherwise, be thoroughly understood, this slave at the head of 20,000 horse thirsting for blood, follows like a wind that brings a destructive tempest: and if imitating a deer of the plains you escape and flee to the mountains, this pursuer will, like a panther, spring on your back and make wet the teeth of desire with the blood of his enemy."
   Warid. p. 545.
2. Ahwal, f. 159(b)
3. Ibid.
4. Shiv Das, pp. 82-83. He puts the number of the killed and wounded at 12 thousand respectively.
   Ahwal, f. 164 (b). According to him the number of the killed was 45,000.
   Sawaneh Deccan F. 93 (a).

plundered by the victors. Fifty elephants, two thousands horses, camels and oxens fell into the hands of the Nizam's soldiers. Drums were beaten to announce the victory.[1]

Defeat and death of Alam Ali Khan.

The Saiyid brothers read reports of this over-whelming loss with great anxiety. The flower of their army had perished; a great veteran had been killed, and family honour besmirched. Their anguish was deep, their concern extreme. Their self-confidence was shattered; their counsels confounded and their moves distracted.[2]

Husain Ali Khan, however, again, expressed his resolve to march to the south either alone or accompanied with the Emperor.[3] But before he could march, he was first to ensure the safety of his family at Aurangabad. To gain this objective the subedari of the Deccan was conferred on Nizamul Mulk and he was requested in a private letter"to furnish his family with an escort and see that they were not molested on the way."[4] His appointment as governor of the south strengthened his position. The change in

---

1. Ibid.
2. T.M. p. 206.
   K.K. p. 882.
   Ahwal. f. 159(b)
   Shiv Das p. 75.
3. T.M. p. 75.
   Shiv Das. p. 84-85.
4. Husain Ali Khan had left his family in Deccan when he had proceeded to the north. They were still in Aurangabad when disaster overtook Dilawar Ali Khan and his army. Nizamul Mulk assured the Amirul Umra about his family in his reply in these words." By God's aid I will soon reach Aurangabad from where I will forward your family and your other belongings with greatest care." (Shiv Das.p.91). In his reply to the royal Farman he pleaded his innocence in leaving Malwa for Deccan and fighting against Dilawar Ali Khan and argued if the flames of the Maratha disorders were allowed to consume the suburbs of Aurangabad, not extinguished there and then, they could easily spread from Burhanpur to Malwa, and thus the imperial cause would be greatly jeoparadised. Further the safety of Amirul Umra's family too was in danger. Then it was the rash conduct of Dilawar Ali Khan that compelled him to take up arms against him. Ma'sir-i-Nizami p.52. Shiv Das p.89-9]

office had carefully been announced by Nizamul Mulk who had received the patent with due form and proper observance.[1] His days of wandering for safety and shelter had now passed away, his rebellion had been condoned, and his status was legally recognised. Nizamul Mulk sent to Alam Ali Khan a copy of the royal Farman with the Qazi's seal along with his letter in which he asked him, in the capacity of governor, to disband his troops and march northwards with his family,[2] and desist from fighting.[3]

Alam Ali Khan was engaged in getting his artillery through Fardapur in May 1720 to March and help Dilawar Ali Khan, when the unwelcome news of his death was made known to him by the 2,000 fugitive from the vanquished host.[4] The reports were confirmed by a letter of Husain Ali Khan, and later on by the coffins of Dilawar Ali Khan and his relations sent by the Nizam.[5] Under the changed situation, the Maratha generals and his own associates advised him to return to Aurangabad or go to Ahmadabad and wait the arrival of Husain Ali Khan. In the meantime they would harrass the enemy by plundering his camp. The rash and inexperienced youth thought it below his dignity to retire, and continued his march to meet the enemy on the battle field.[6] Once again Nizamul Mulk asked Alam Ali Khan to refrain from fighting and await the coming of Husain Ali Khan so that in his

---

1. Shiv Das. p. 88.
2. Ibid.
3. K.K. p. 885.
4. Ibid.
5. Ma'sir-i-Asafi.p.103.
6. Qasim. p. 145.
   T.M. p. 210.
   Shiv Das. p. 92.
   Sawaneh Deccan. f. 93(b)
   Ahwal. f. 165(b)
   Warid. p. 547.

presence the issue might be settled. According to Qasim Lahori, Nizamul Mulk had asked his uncles to prevail on the youth to put off the recourse to arms, and they wrote pressing letters to him. But the salutary advice did not commend itself to the ill-fated man. He had pinned his hopes on his grand army of thirty thousand, consisting mainly of the Afghans, whose support he had gained by a matrimonial alliance with the family of the late Daud Khan Panni, and the Maratha auxiluries about 12,000 under the command of Peshwa Baji Rao.[1] He, therefore, crossed Fardapur, and encamped at Talab Hartala, not far from Purna river, which flowed some 16 or 17 kos to the southeast of Burhanpur.[2] His approach towards Burhanpur necessiated the defence of the city, where commotion prevailed among the people. Mutawassil Khan with six thousand horse was sent by the Nizam, and the captain after covering a distance of forty miles in one day succeeded in reaching there and allaying their apprehensions by making preparations for defence.[3]

When Nizamul Mulk found that the youth was bent upon crossing swords with him, he came out from Burhanpur and pitched his camp at Hartla lake. But heavy rains rendered the ground unfit to stay there for long, and the Nizam moved out, crossed the river Purna with his whole army in the direction of Balapur district on 20th July, 1720, and encamped near Seogan, a village in Berar.[4] There his army suffered privations due to the plundering of the Marathas and the interception of supplies by them.

---

1. K.K. p. 899.
   Shiv Das. p. 93.
2. K.K. p. 886.
   T.M. p. 206.
3. Ibid.
4. K.K.p. 889.
   Qasim. p. 145.
   Kamwar.f. 178(a)
   Ma'sir-i-Asafi. p. 104.

When rains stopped for a while, generals were sent against the free-booters who were defeated and put to flight. / Few marches from there brought the Nizam and his army to Balapur itself, and the place was selected for the action, as Alam Ali Khan, just after his departure from Hartla, had crossed the river and encamped.[1] There on the 9th August, 1720, Nizamul Mulk ranged his army in order of battle at a distance of two or three kos from Balapur and on next day a fierce fighting ensued.[2] The first charge, made by Alam Ali Khan's vanguard of 14 to 15 thousand cavalry supported by artillery, was so irresistible that the centre of the Nizam's army was thrown into disorder, Nurullah, brother of the commander of the Nizam's army was killed; Yalburz Khan and Muhammad Ghiyas were wounded.[3] But the tide of battle turned when his right and left divisions rolled onward and delivered furious attack on the ranks of Alam Ali Khan. Ghiyasuddin Khan, the commander of his artillery, Ghalib Khan and his Diwan Apaji, Shamsher Khan, Saiyid Wali and Saiyid Alam Barha were killed, and others gave way before repeated onslaughts. Alam Ali Khan, wounded and worn-down persisted and fought with heroic courage till he was surrounded and killed by Iktisas Khan who cut off his head. He earned for him an honourable death and the history of the period has few parallels of the unflinching courage and matchless gallantry displayed by him in the compaign. But his reckless valour was

---

1. Ahwal,ff. 165(b), 166.
   Kamwar. f. 178(a)
   Sawaneh Deccan. f. 93(b)
   K.K. p. 889.
   Qasim. p. 146.
2. K.K.pp. 889-91.
3. Ahwal f. 168 (a,b).
   Shiv Das p. 95.

a poor compensation to the coolness and judgment of a true general.[1] Seventeen or eighteen chiefs of renown perished, besides large number of soldiers, Amin Khan, Umar Khan Turktaz Khan, Fida Khan and some other officers of the defeated army at once joined Nizamul Mulk. Shankraji, the captain in Maratha army, was wounded and taken prisoner. The whole baggage was plundered. Nizamul Mulk lost in killed only Saiyid Suleman and Sheikh Nurullah and in wounded besides above-mentioned Mutawassil Khan and Qadir Dad Khan. The victory over Alam Ali Khan made the Nizam undisputed master of the south. He now left for Burhanpur, and engaged in the business of the administration. Mubariz Khan was appointed governor of Hyderabad.

---

1. Ahwal.ff.169(a); 178(a).
   Shiv Das pp. 96-97.
   Sawaneh Deccan. f. 93(b)
   Ma'sir-i-Asafi. p. 106.
   Irvine Vol.II. pp. 47-50.

C H A P T E R II.

The Fall of the Saiyid Brothers.

Assassination of Husain Ali Khan.

Nizamul Mulk's defeat of Dilawar Ali Khan and Alam Ali Khan was a heavy blow to the prestige and power of the ministers. It raised Nizamul Mulk in the estimation of the people as a general and a skilful schemer. Arrogant and over-confident, Dilawar Ali Khan and Alam Ali Khan had underestimated the power of the adversary. The rank and file of Dilawar's army, already discontented on account of the arrears of their salaries, were seized with panic at the fall of their coammander and dispersed in all directions.[1] Inspite of the liberal grants of money and rewards bestowed on the Afghan chiefs and their followers, desertion had started in Alam Ali Khan's army even before the battle had begun.

The news of these tragic reverses caused profound grief in the camp of the Saiyid brothers, and put them in a state of dilemma. At this juncture, Muhammad Amin Khan suggested that Nizamul Mulk should be appointed as governor of Deccan, and the Amirul Umra's family, now in Daulatabad should be brought to the north by his own son, Qamruddin Khan, if he was allowed to go there. Though the real motive of Muhammad Amin Khan was to protect Nizamul Mulk from the punishment, Saiyids might inflict on him, yet it was the demand of expediency, that

---

1. Qasim.pp 138-39.
   Irvine, pp. 31-32.
   K.K. p
   Kamwar.
   Risala-i-Khan-iDauran.

reconciliation should be made with the powerful foe. The Saiyid brothers rejected the proposal and resolved to fight out the issue.[1] Husain Ali Khan decided to go to the Deccan in company with Muhammad Shah, while his brother Saiyid Abdullah would proceed to Delhi. Military preparations were started and a huge army of fifty thousand men representing mainly the Saiyids of Barha and the Afghans was raised.[2] But before marching towards south, Husain Ali Khan decided to deal first with Muhammad Amin Khan, a traitor in the camp, and a dangerous centre of intrigue. The Saiyid brothers regarded Muhammad Amin Khan as the cause of all this trouble, and twice they had attempted to put an end to his activities but every time for fear of revolt of the Mughuls, they desisted from carrying out their plan.[3] His presence in the camp and in the capital was fraught with serious dangers. If he accompanied Amirul Umra, it was feared that he would desert with his retainers and join his cousin. If left behind, he would certainly conspire against the brothers and keep them apart.

Under such circumstances self-restrain, and a policy of appeasment seemed the only possible course. Husain Ali Khan would bluff him and his Mughuls by flattering and seducing

---

1. Warid, p. 548.
   K.K. p. 896.
   Kamwar. f. 178(b)
   Qasim.pp.143 and 147.
   Shah Nama Deccan, p. 125.
   Ahwal f. 171(b)
2. Shiv Das. p. 99
   K.K.pp.897-900
   T.M. p. 214.
   Tarik-i-Hind.p.479. According to him one lakh foot soldiers and three thousand horsemen had been enlist
3. Shiv Das. p.98.
   Qasim. p. 142.

them by giving promotions in the army. Muhammad Amin Khan could be done away with after the liquidation of Nizamul Mulk. One day Muhammad Amin Khan was entertained at a banquot, and addressed as " respected uncle". Liberal payments of salaries in advance were made to his soldiers.[1] Haider Quli Khan, another leader of note, was promoted to the post of Mir Atash, on 6th September, 1720, the post having been held by Ghulam Ali Khan.[2] His relations and comrades protested against this policy of appeasment, but Husain Ali Khan rebuffed them by replying that he was befrending the Mughuls in order to promote unity in the government.[3]

Muhammad Amin Khan was too shrewd to be caught in the trap. He understood their real motives and knew how to get out of the awkward situation. As Khafi Khan writes, " Itemad-ud-Daulah Muhammad Amin Khan Bahadur was convinced that notwithstanding his covenants and protestations, Husain Ali Khan would, whenever, it suited his designs, perform his engagements in the same way as he had kept them with the late Martyr, Farrukh-Siyar."[4] Muhammad Amin Khan was afraid that it would be difficult for Nizamul Mulk to defeat Husain Ali Khan, who had a force of fifty thousand with him. And in case Nizamul Mulk emerged successful out of the ordeal, Muhammad Shah would hail him (the Nizam) as his saviour, and bestow upon him most magnificent rewards, as he had promised in his letters addressed to him.

---

1. Shiv Das. p. 99.
   Qasim. p. 149.
2. Qasim. p. 142.
   Tarikh-i-Hind. p. 479.
3. Qasim. p. 142.
4. K.K. p. 902.

He might even get the coveted post of Wizarat.[1] In that case his own fortunes, would suffer a set-back. If on the other hand he exerted himself to bring about the fall of Amirul-Umra he would become the absolute master of the government. If this could not be accomplished in an open contest, the assasin's hand was sure to succeed. The circumstances were also favourabl for the execution of the plan. The two brothers were to proceed in different directions, and it was easy to knock out each of them separately.[2] If Husain Ali Khan could be murdered, the Saiyid party would be shattered. Muhammad Amin Khan now engaged himself in hatching a plot against Husain Ali Khan life.

---

1. Insha-i-Wala-Jahi, pp.50-58.
2. According to the author of Sahifa Iqbal (f.4) this separation was the result of a previous plan made by the supporters of the Emperor. They had thought that only by separation they they could be destroyed one by one. Muhammad Shah had agreed to this plan. Saiyid Abdullah Khan, after the murder of his brother also blamed the Emperor for separating them from each other. "Although, separation from my brother was distasteful to me, still in obedience to the exalted one, we made no objection, and of the two brothers one set out for the capital, the other for the Deccan, in attendance of your Majesty." But facts belie these statements. We have seen that just after the death of Dilawar Ali Khan, Husain Ali Khan had decided to march towards the Deccan, but was disuaded by his brother. But after the death of Alam Ali Khan, it had become clear that either of the brothers would go to the south, and under the existing situation there was no alternative. Moreover, the Emperor had no initiative in this matter to give orders or make suggestions, all powers being in the hands of the ministers. If it is accepted that the Emperor had proposed the expedition, and the Saiyid brothers simply agreed to it, then there could be no limit to their stupidity, over-weeing - pride and self confidence. What may be concluded in the light of above-mentioned facts, is that the ministers should have suggested their march against Nizamul Mulk, and the Emperor agreed to it, as was his usual habit.

In accordance with the plan Husain Ali Khan and the Emperor started on 11th September, 1720, for the Deccan.[1] They went by way of Ajmer as Husain Ali Khan had to meet Raja Ajit Singh and discuss with him the problem of Nizamul Mulk.[2] At Karoli, a village 10 miles from Agra, Saiyid Abdullah left for Delhi with his staff and officers.[3] After a journey of less than a month the imperial camp reached a place between Jiund and Biund, about two kos to the east of Toda Bhon, a place 75 miles northwest of Agra and 60 miles east of Jaipur, on 8th October, 1720.[4]

By this time the conspiracy had matured. In Mir Haider Beg Kashghari, they had found an assassin. He was promised rich rewards if he survived in the attempt on Husain's life, and financial support to his family if killed in the attempt.[5] The Emperor was informed of the plot by Muhammad Amin Khan who had opened negotiations with Qudsia Begam through Sadrun Nisa, the wife of Raza Quli Khan Bahadur Jahandar Shahi, the intermediary being one Shah Abdul Ghafoor, a faqir from Thatta in Sindh who went to and fro disguised in women's attire as a seller of milk. Muhammad Shah was found to be favourably inclined to

---

1. K.K. p. 898.
   T.M. p. 215.
   Sahifa Iqbal. f. 4(a)
   Qasim. p. 151.
2. Balmukand Nama. Letter No.12.
3. K.K. p.900
   T.M. p. 218.
4. Irvine. pp. 53-54.
5. K.K. p. 902.
   T.M. p. 212.
   Ma'sir Asafi. p. 126.
   Shiv Das. p. 99.
   Tarikh-i-Ali. f. 69(a)
   Ahwal./f. 175(a). The would-be assassin is reported to have said " I am a Saiyid and he is also a Saiyid; if brother kills brother that matters little."

the scheme.[1] Muhammad Amin Khan sought the assistance of Saadat Khan, a Saiyid of Nishapur,[2] Haider Quli Khan, a Mughul, and Samsamu Daulah, the would be leader of the Indian party in the imperial court. "All these three were agreed upon assassinating and bound themselves together to effect their purpose and keep their design secret to themselves.[3] Husain Ali Khan moved in a ring of heartless conspirators, but his overweening pride blinded him to the danger to his person. And even when informed of the fact he remarked, " Who is there who could raise a hand against me, what plot is there, what reason for any assassination."[4]

It was decided at first between Muhammad Amin Khan and Saadat Khan that attack should be made on his life by encircling him with their respective forces. But unexpectedly on the next day the Amirul Umra was on the elephant instead of horse. In such condition no such wild venture could be prosecuted.[5]

---

1. Irvine. Vol.II, p. 57.
   According to K.K. the Emperor had no knowledge of the plot. (p.903).
2. His original name was Mir Muhammad Amin and he was the son of Mir Muhammad Naseer, who traced his origin to Musa Kazim. After the death of Alamgir, Muhammad Amin Khan came to Patna, where his father had already settled down, and got a subsistance allowance from the kind favour of Murshid Quli Khan, the Diwan of Bengal. After a short time, Mir Muhammad Amin and his brother Mir Muhammad Baqar left Patna and went to Delhi in search of employment. There Muhammad Amin Khan found service under Sarbuland Khan, Faujdar of Kara Manikpur, as Mir Manzil, camp superintendent. After two years he resigne his post and came to Delhi where he got a mansab of 1,000 hors After the deposition of Farrukh-Siyar, he joined the Saiyids who appointed him Faujdar of Hinduan and Bayan on 6th October, 1719. When the Emperor Muhammad Shah came to this place, Muhammad Amin Khan, in the capacity of Faujdar attended the court. It was here that conspiracy was formed with the Mughuls against the Saiyids. Srivastava. pp. 1-13.
3. K.K. p. 903.
4. Qasim. p. 150.
5. Sahifa-i-Iqbal. ff. 4(b); 5(a).

On the fateful mid-day of 8th October, 1720, when Husain Ali Khan was returning from the imperial enclosure in palanquin[1], he heard shouts of complaint raised by Mir Haider Beg, who with two others was standing at respectable distance from the former's position. When allowed to approach close to him, the would-be assassin accused Muhammad Amin Khan under whom they had served, of embezzelment in the distribution of salaries, and requested the Amirul Umra to do justice. He had a petition purporting to contain these complaints in his hand which he wanted to give to the Mir Bakshi by himself. Husain Ali Khan took the paper and began to read it with one hand holding the paper and/in the other a mouthpiece of the pipe. Finding him unaware and off his guard, Haider Beg, in the twinkling of an eye, took out the

---

1. According to the custom, known as Jauher,. at the end of every march, first the Emperor followed by great nobles would come to his tent, and making all arrangements would return, the nobles also to their respective places. On that morning, Husain Ali Khan, followed with chief ministers, escorted Muhammad Shah as far as the imperial gate-way. The Emperor entered within the private apartments leaving the party outside. At that time Muhammad Amin Khan vomited by putting his fingers in mouth, fainted and laid down on the ground. Rose water and Beadmushk were brought by the orders of the Amirul Umra and administered on him. On recoverning he was taken to Haider Quli Khan's tent, adjacent to the imperial camp, on his own request. Husain Ali Khan then went inside the enclosure and waited the coming of the Emperor; as Muhammad Shah could not come, betel leave was sent to him from within, which he took, and got in his litter and advanced towards his own tent. Muhammad Amin Khan was present at that time in the Mir Atash's tent, only to be absent from the scene. Fathiya. f. 3(b). Shiv Das. p. 99. Qasim. p. 152. The author of Mirat-ul-Haqaiq f.(182,a) says that Muhammad Amin Khan was sitting in the Diwan Kas, and the Amirul Umra in the private apartments with the Emperor. There he feigned stomach-ache and on this pretext came out and went to the tent of Haider Quli Khan.

dagger and plunged it in his side.[1] The criminal, though thrown down on the ground by the bleeding man, soon got up and cut his head off from the body. But he was shot down and then killed by Nurullah Khan, who also was despatched off by the other Mughul soldiers. Husain Ali Khan's head was brought out to the tent of Haider Quli Khan who with Muhammad Amin Khan had come out bare-footed after hearing the noise.[2]

Muhammad Amin Khan's first concern was now to get the royal approval; for without that the Saiyid party could not be silenced. The horrible spectacle frightened the weak monarch, and his mother; and he quailed and effected cold neturality. A competition now began as to which party was to have the royal support and under the cloak of royal favour win the aid of the soldiery as well as of masses. Muhammad Amin Khan was alone for the officers and the chiefs of the army, consisted mostly of Saiyids, Afghans and Rajputs, did not respond to his appeal of assistance in the cause of the Mughuls.[3] But the crime was

---

1. Shiv Das.p. 99.
   Kamwar. f. 181(a)
   Warid. p. 551.
   Ahwal. f. 175(b)
   K.K. p. 903.
   T.M. p. 220.
   Fathiya f. 3(a)
   Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran. f. 76(a)
   Qasim. (p.153). According to him his attendants wanted to take the petition from his hands, but Amirul Umra refused and extended his hands. According to the author of Tarikh-i-Ali (f.69) two petitions had been drawn, one was to be presented by Haider Beg, and the second by his nephew. When allowed to approach near, Amirul Umra first took the petition of Haider Beg in his hand. On this his nephew said, " Nawab Saheb, I hope you will first pay your attention on me," Then the Nawab turned his face towards him, Haider Beg struck his dagger in his side. The author Sahifa Iqbal (f.5.b) does not speak of this story.
2. Shah Nama Deccan. pp. 126-127.
   Tarikh-i-Ali, f. 71(a).
   Majma-ul-Insha. p. 61.
   Ahwal. f. 175(b)
3. K.K.p. 908.

committed so suddenly and secretly, that these forces of the late Amirul Umra's army could not rally together and thereby thwart the further execution of the enemy's pre-planned project. Their attempts to seize the person of His Majesty that followed the murder suffered from one fatal mistake, that is, disunity and lack of cooperation among the Saiyids of Barha. The leaders of the Barha clique could not organise themselves, but each of them unsheathed the sword in his own interest and fought single-handed. Though they fought with gallantry, but were overcome by the Mughuls who had organised and united themselves under the leadership of Muhammad Amin Khan. Those heroic efforts of the Saiyids, if guided by an able leader with common programme, might have changed the course of events, and again restored the fortunes of the Saiyids.

The tumult began to range round the private enclosure, when Saiyid Ghulam Ali Khan, cousin of the ministers, appeared with Islam Khan, and his gunners, to obtain the person of the Emperor, but all were beaten back and captured by Muhammad Amin Khan.[1] The Emperor still seemed undecided as to which way he should go for establishing his own authority now put at naught by the contestants in his own presence. His weakness and indifference were potential dangers to the successful end of their plot, and to avert them, the Mughul leaders cast off all kinds of formalities and themselves secured His Majesty's person, much against his will and the wish of his mother. Saadat Khan with his face covered entered the harem, and forcibly mounted the Emperor on Qamaruddin Khan's elephant. Muhammad Amin Khan sat behind him in the hauda. They advanced forward and stood at the enterance of a public market, where thousands saw the gory head of Husain Ali Khan fastened to the end of a long pole with amazement and

1. K.K. p. 906., Warid. p.544., Shiv Das. p. 106.

awe. The change thus pronounced, plundering was then ordered by them. Husain Ali Khan's baggage and the treasures were looted recklessly by the Mughul soldiery.[1]

While plundering was going on, fighting ensued between the Mughuls and the Saiyids. In the desperate attempts to enter the private enclosure and sieze the person of His Majesty, Saiyid Ghairat Khan, Izzat Khan, Saiyid Karimullah Khan, Sheikh Najmuddin were killed. All of them had attacked separately, and though they fought heroicly, fortune did not favour them. It was after great difficulty that the strife could be put down.[2] Raja Mukham Singh stood inactive, and like him, Rai Sirat Singh Multani, his son Lala Nand Singh, Lala Jaswant Rao, son of Sahib Rai Munshi, Rai Saroman Das Kyasth, and Muazzam Khan remained passive spectators. Among others who were killed were Umar Khan, Saiyid Jan Ali Khan and Mir Ali Khan. Several thousands perished under the swords and spears of the Mughuls; Raja Ratan Chand was arrested, put to much indignity and abused by the low men of the camp, and brought before Muhammad Amin Khan. Clothes were supplied, and he was asked to give information about the secret treasure of his late paymaster. Despite torture inflicted on him, he remained silent. He was then cast into prison. Rai Siroman Das in disguise of a faqir fled away.[3]

---

1. Ahwal. f. 176(b)
   Kamwar.f. 181(b)
   Fathiya.f.4(a)
   Hadiqat . pp. 109-110.
   K.K.p.908.
   Sahifa-i-Iqbal. f.6(b)
2. Irivine. pp. 62-64.
3. K.K. pp. 908-910.
   Shiv Das. p. 106.
   Qasim.pp.159-160.
   Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran. f.77(b).
   Ahwal. f. 176(a)

Now all signs of turbulence had disappeared, and complete calm reigned. Muhammad Shah held a formal darbar, in which Raja Gopal Singh Bhadoria and twenty one other nobles, all won over by Muhammad Amin Khan, offered homage to the Emperor and secured promotions in return; the first-named noble was raised to the mansab of 6,000 zat with the privilege of beating the drums Muhammad Amin Khan was made the wazir with the title of Wazirul-ul-Mumalik and a mansab of 8,000 zat 8,000 Sawar (two aspa) was conferred on him; one Karor and fifty laks of Dam were given to him in cash as Inam; and the pompous title of Zafar Jang Salar Yar-i-Wafadar was added to his former one, i.e. I'timad-ud-Daulah Samsam-ud-Daulah was appointed Mir Bakshi, and the title of Amirul Umra with the rank of 8,000/8,000 was bestowed on him. He received one Karor Dam as reward. Haider Quli Khan was promoted to 6,000/3,000 with the title of Nasir Jang. Qamaruddin Khan, son of the new wazir, was made second Bakshi and appointed Darogha of Ghusal Khana. Mir Muhammad Amin was granted a mansab of 5,000/3,000 with thetitle of Saadat Khan Bahadur, and the privilege of beating kettle drums was also given to him.[1]

The corpses of Husain Ali Khan, Ghairat Khan, Izzat Khan and Nurullah Khan were placed in the coffins covered with gold brocade and after due funeral service despatched to Ajmer, where they were buried near the tomb of Saiyid Abdullah Khan, the father of the two ministers.[2]

---

1. K.K.911.
   Kamwar f. 182
   Sahifa-i-Iqbal ff. 8(b);9(a)
   Qasim pp. 162-164.
   T.M. pp. 227-228.
   Hadiqat. p.110.
   M.U.Vol.I pp.346-50; 819-825.
2. K.K. p. 910.
   Hadiqat p.111.

Battle of Hasanpur.

The death of Husain Ali Khan was the triumph of the Mughul clique and the Emperor was to some extent relieved of the pressure and the fear of the all powerful Saiyid brothers. The Emperor set out towards Delhi with his nobles and the army on 9th Zulhij (11th October, 1720).[1] Several chiefs of note joined the imperial standard, such as Saiyid Nusrat Yar Khan Bahadur,[2] Sabit Khan, Muhammad Khan Bangash,[3] Sher Afghan Khan Panipati, Aziz Khan Bahadur Chagtai, and Bayazid Khan Mewati. After nearly one and half months, the party reached the bank of the Jumna, and encamped on 12th November, 1720, at a place called Hasanpur,[4] on the right bank of the river, in Pargana Patawal.

Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk was at Sarai Chath, on his way from Kauroli to Delhi, when on the night of 9th October, 1720, a camel driver sent by Ratan Chand reached him and gave him the letter containing information of Amirul-Umra's assassination.[5] This distressing news left him two alternatives - either to resign and surrender or to make a desperate bid to recover the lost position by having recourse to arms. Self-respect as well as the fear of treachery forbade him to submit and he determined to fight with the Mughuls who had come into power by killing his brother. He announced this decision to the nobles who had

---

1. K.K. p. 920.
   Qasim.p. 174.
   Shiv Das. p. 109.
   Kamwar. f. 185(a).
   Sahifa-i-Iqbal. f. 11(b).
2. Fathiya. f.7(b).
3. J.S.B. (1878).
4. Shiv Das. p. 109.
   Qasim. p. 175.
5. Siyar. p. 56.
   Hadiqat. p. 112.
   Shiv Das.p. 107.

assembled to console him. He sought their cooperation in the coming contest. The nobles advised him to march speedily against the Emperor before he was joined by the provincial troops or the forces of Husain Ali Khan were won over by him. Rejecting the advice, he argued that without some royal Prince as his puppet, fighting against the legitimate Emperor was futile and inexpedient.[1]

It was thus decided to secure a Prince who could be elevated to the Mughul throne, and an army enlisted in his name. Shujatullah Khan, son-in-law of Abdullah Khan, Murtaza Khan, and Hafizullah Khan were sent in advance to Delhi where they were to select a Prince and get him crowned in consultation with Saiyid Najmuddin Ali Khan, Nazim of Delhi.[2]

Simaltaneously with these preparations he opened correspondence with the Emperor. In his first letter Saiyid Abdullah Khan complained of the frightful acts perpetrated by the miscreants outside His Majesty's camp, and strongly appealed that justice should be done to vindicate the majesty of law. He gave an indirect hint of his march against him (Emperor) writing that he was coming to punish the murderers whom/(Abdullah) he expected to be kept in prison by the Emperor.[3] Muhammad Shah, in reply, expressed his utmost grief over the fatal tragedy, and added that the arch-culprit, Haider Beg Khan, was done away with on the spot; about the accomplices he knew nothing, nor their names were supplied by him (S.Abdullah) in the letter.

---

1. K.K. p. 912.
   Qasim. p. 168.
   Kamwar. f. 186(a).
   Sahifa-i-Iqbal. f. 10(b).
2. Ibid.
3. Shiv Das. p. 108.

MAULANA AZAD LIBRARY, A.M.U. ALIGARH. T200

He informed him of his own march to meet him and proposed to settle the matter in his presence, " in the most perfect and satisfactory manner according to the Holy Law and Justice.[1] Both Muhammad Shah and Saiyid Abdullah Khan understood each other's motives, and were busy in preparing to checkmate the other's designs. The thin cover of courtesy could not hide their mutual hostility.

The imperial metroplis was horror-struck to hear the news of Husain Ali Khan's murder. To beguile the citizens Najmuddin Ali Khan gave a quite contrary report to what had actually happened two days before at a distance of 128 miles from the capital. He ordered the house of Muhammad Amin Khan to be plundered. But neither the inmates of the house, nor the people of the city could be deceived by such a demonstration. The custodians of the house encouraged by the happy news threw up defences, and prevented the Subedar from carrying his designs, into execution. Now truth became as clear as daylight, and spread every where.[2]

After Id prayers, (10th Zul Hij, 12th October, 1720) Najmuddin, accompanied by Murtaza Khan and Shujaatullah Khan, visited the royal prison house and brought out Prince Ibrahim, aged 23 year, the eldest son of Rafi-ush-Shan, the third son of Bahadur Shah, and crowned him on 15th October under the title of Abul Fath Zahiruddin Muhammad Ibrahim. The Khutba was read in his name and coins were issued.[3]

---

1. Shiv Das. p. 109.
2. K.K. p. 913.
3. K.K. p. 914.
   Qasim. p.169.
   Kamwar. p.f. 186.
   Sahifa-i-Iqbal. f. 10(a)
   Warid. p. 556.
   Zafara Deccan p. 69.

Two days after the enthronment Saiyid Abdullah Khan arrived in the city and forthwith busied himself in raising an army on a grand scale.[1] The imperial treasures, found in the palace, withal his own and Raja Ratan's riches were recklessly spent in enlisting soldiers. To a man with one horse the pay offered was 80 rupees while one with two horses got hundred and fifty rupees a month; one or two months salary was paid in advance at the time of registration. Thousands of them representing all colours, creeds and occupations with no interest in the struggle flocked to his standard, to releive themselves from economic distress. No rules and regulations of military discipline were observed, and no distinction was made between bazar loungers, buthcers, cooks or cotton-carders and old veterans, with the result that resentment grew apace among the latter.[2] According to Khafi Khan 90 thousand horsemen were enlisted and perhaps 14 or 15 thousand of them, after getting the advance disappeared. It is said that one karor of rupees was disbursed in these days.[3]

Ghaziuddin Khan Ghalib Jang, Hamid Khan, Itiqad Khan and Saifullah Khan were won over. The first got a mansab of 8,000 horse (du Aspa) with the title of Amirul Umra, and the office of Mir Bakshi, Saiyid Najmuddin Ali Khan, Saiyid Salabat Khan, and Bairam Khan were made second,third and fourth paymasters respectively.[4] Abdullah was much worried as he was

---

1. Siyar. p. 57.
2. K.K. p. 915.
   Qasim. p. 169. According to him the number was 6,000.
   Ahwal.f. 177(a) " " 1,20,000
   Warid. p. 556. " " 1,25,000
   Shiv Das. pp. 107-8 " " 1,80,000
   Kamwar. f. 187(A)
   Shah Nama Deccan.p.133.
3. K.K.pp.915-16.
4. Ibid.

soon afterwards started firing his guns; he displayed great courage and zeal in this matter, and infused enthusiasm among his co-workers by liberal distribution of money. As Abdullah Khan had notbrought his heavy artillery with him he failed to silence the enemies' guns with the result that the new levies lost heart feeling that before this storm they could not stand. They began to desert in thousands and the road running to Delhi was thronged with deserters. Saiyid Abdullah remained firm till the fall of the night.[1] Muhammad Shah passed the night on the elephant without taking his dinner. When the day dawned on 14th November, Abdullah Khan found his army reduced to a few of his relations and his veteran troops. They resumed fighting to the best of their power.

Abdullah Khan, joined by Najmuddin Ali Khan and many Barha chiefs, again delivered an attack. Shahamat Khan and many other were slain on his side. When surrounded on all sides by the Mughals, he dismounted to fight on foot. This resulted in the desertion of more prominent persons including Saifuddin Ali Khan with Prince Ibrahim. Saiyid Abdullah Khan and Najmuddin Ali Khan, both wounded, fought like lions, till Haider Quli Khan reached the sϕpt, and throwing a sheet of cloth (shwal) on the head of Abdullah Khan mounted on his elephant, and took Najmuddin Ali Khan too with him. "His

---

1. K.K. pp. 924-25.
   Shiv Das. pp. 114-117.
   Qasim.pp. 177-195.
   Namwar. f. 190(a)
   Warid. p. 556.
   Sahifa-i-Iqbal. f. 117(a)
   Fathiya. f. 8(a)
   Shah Nama Deccan pp. 134-135.

the haram had already made off with whatever they could lay their hands upon, Saiyid Ghulam Ali Khan, collected all the gold and jewels and in the confusion got away. Only Saiyid Nijabat Ali Khan, nephew and adopted son of the wazir, a boy of 13 or 14 years, and ten years old daughter of Najmuddin Ali Khan, were seized. The boy was sent to share the prison of his uncle, and the girl was given to the charge of Nawab Qudisia who wanted to marry her to the Emperor, but through the intercession and persuasion of Haider Quli Khan, was later on restored to Najmuddin Ali Khan. It is said that Saiyid Abdullah Khan had protested against this unprecedented insult to the Saiyids of Barha.[1]

The Character of the Saiyid Brothers.

Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk after living for three years in prison died of poison on the Ist Muharram (11th October, 1722). It was through the pressure of the Mughuls who were constantly plotting against his life that Muhammad Shah gave his consent to his being poisoned. First he was taken away from the charge of Haider Quli Khan, and then put in the imperial apartments, being treated well in both the places; but the Mughuls never stopped their attempts to poison the Emperor's mind by circulating news that he was in conspiracy with Raja Ajit Singh, and one day would effect his escape, and create new trouble.[2]

Thus ended the supremacy of the Saiyids who had dominated the political stage of India for an unbroken period of seven years, full of changes and disturbances. The appellation of

---

1. K.K. p. 934.
2. K.K. p. 941.

of King-makers they earned during life-time, bespeaks itself of the power and fortune the ministers have attained in the government. Warriors of renown, they possessed valour and the daring spirit of a hero, who courts danger and fame, dislikes tricks in fighting and boldly challenges the rival, indifferent of consequences. Their ambitions were well supported by determination and courage which won for them glorious victories, and the regard and admiration of the public. Supporting the cause of a destitute like Farrukh-Siyar and raising him to the throne by defeating the defacto Emperor was a prodigious feat of their diplomacy, resourcefulness and courage.

The younger brother, Husain Ali Khan, was a judicious mixture of bravery, liberality and mercy,[1] though rashness, arrogance and impatience in pursuing the ends neutralised these qualities. Nevertheless, to his military prowess was due the suppression and submission of Raja Ajit Singh,[2] and the alliance with Marathas. He was perhaps the first man who foresaw the necessity of redressing the grievances of the Hindus by the abolition of Jiziya. He realized the futility of sticking to the policies and traditions that had failed Alamgir and now could render no useful service to the general interests of the Empire as well of the nation. Kind-hearted and generous, Husain Ali Khan, was patron of arts, helper of the poor and considerate towards theologians and mystics of every creed. Azad Bilgrami informs us that during his stay in Aurangabad poeple did not prepare food in their houses, as all were free to eat at his

---

1. Khazana-i-Amra. p. 168.
2. Risalaia-Khan-i-Dauran. f. 90(b)
3. Khazana-i-Amra. p. 170.

house. On the 11th and 12th of every month, people received cooked and uncooked food nearly in all the big cities of Hindustan and Deccan from his kitchens.[1] " In the heyday of their supremacy," writes Shiv Das, " people got employment, and few remained without means of livelihood; the pay of the soldier was fixed as Rs 50 per month. As his fate favoured him, every individual became happy and prosperous. The law of the government was operated in such a way that no one felt aggrieved at their hands; and in a short time they impressed the stamp of their authority on all the departments of the government."[2] Husain Ali Khan's impartiality in deciding cases and doing justice to the oppressed was well-known.[3] During his campaign against Raja Ajit Singh, it was reported that a soldier had abducted the young daughter of a poor widow. He swore that he would not sleep or take food unless the girl was discovered. She was restored to her mother, a certain amount of money in cash was given to her, and monthly stipend was fixed for them.[4] Once Sa'adat Khan had to give fifty buffaloes to a peasant against one he had forcibly seized in order to escape the wrath of Husain Ali Khan.[5] He is credited to have built up a canal in Ajmer,[6] a reservoir in Aurangabad, a Sarai and bridge and other works for public benefits in the native town of Barha.[7]

---

1. Khazana-i-Amra. p. 170.
2. Shiv Das. pp. 128-29.
3. Khazana-i-Amra.p 168.
4. Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shah. f. 24.(a,b)
5. Tarikh-i-Hind. p. 446.
6. Miratul Haqaiq. f. 83(b).
7. K.K. p. 943.

Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk was prudent, for-bearing and patient, qualities wanting in his younger brother.[1] A voluptuary, he had become heedless of the state business which he handed over to Raja Ratan Chand. His was a life of ease and princely pomp.

None of those brothers were a constructive genius and they did not come up to the level of Nizamul-Mulk. No administrative reform and no attempt to remove abuses from the departments are recorded to have made by them. All their energies were devoted to the attainment of personal ends by intriguing against the Emperor. They possessed valour without cool and sound judgement. Here was the soldier subdued by the statesman. The outstanding defects of their character were their arrogance, over-weening pride, too much self-confidence, lust of power and money. " The day before his assassination Husain Ali Khan uttered a foolish speech about making an Emperor of any one on whom he chose to cast his shoe!"[2]

Alamgir's remark about the character of the Saiyids of Barha is very characteristic. He once wrote to Zulfiquar Khan about the punishment and promotion of the Saiyids of Barha. " For whem promoted or exalted they say:' I am and there is none other! and stray from the path of duty. They lift their gaze too high and begin to cause trouble."[3]

---

1. Khazana-i-Amra. p. 154. The writer has composed a poem in the praise of the minister. Two verses are quoted.

2. Irvine. Vol.II. p. 58. (quoted by Yahya).
3. Irvine p. 97. (Ahkam-i-Alamgiri)

However, their one act of infidelity, as Shiv Das puts it, destroyed the harvest of their whole life, and left their name to be remembered by posterity with reproaches.[1] The contemporary, as well as the non-contemporary writers are sharply divided in blaming them for or exonerating them from the degrading act of killing the king. Kam Baksh Ashob, Qasim Lahori, Qasim Aurangabadi, author of Sahifa-i-Iqbal and so many others, themselves Mughuls or patronised by Muhammad Amin Khan and Nizamul Mulk call them faithless, untrue to the salt, cruel, hard-hearted, wicked uncultured etc, who disgraced Mughul throne, dishonoured Timuride dynasty and wrought havoc in the Empire;[2] while Tabatabai, Rustum Ali Khan, Azad Bilgrami and others have nothing but admiration for them, and regard them innocent of the misdeeds ascribed to them.

Azad Bilgrami writes that after their fall people discussed their virtues and defects in meetings and gatherings, and quarrelled with each other. Two chronograms composed by two poets have come down to us which throw light on the discussions among the people on the subject. Mirza Abdul Qadir Bedil wrote:-

دیدی کہ چہ با پادشاہ گمراہی کردند صد جور و جفا ز راہ خامی کردند
تاریخ چو از خرد بجستم فرمود سادات بہ وے نمک حرامی کردند

"Didst thou see what they did to the mightly king? A hundred harsh and cruel deeds they did, un-thinkingly, I asked wisdom for the date. She answered: The Saiyids behaved disloyally to the king."

---

1. Shiv Das. p. 129.
2. Some of such abusive phrases are these:-

To this replied Mir Azmatullah Baikhabar Bilgrami in these lines:[1]

باشاہ سقیم آنچہ شاید کردند　　از دست حکیم ہرچہ آید کردند
بقراط خرد نسخہ تاریخ نوشت　　سادات دوا تش آنچہ باید کردند

" To the infirm monarch they did what they ought to have done. They did what a physician should do. By light of wisdom's lamp, this date was written. The Saiyid treated him as the case required."

Impartially judged self-defence and the instinct of self-preservation dictated such a policy which resulted in the deposition, blinding and death of Farrukh-Siyar. Their motives for the commission of the criminal act can be well described in the words of Gibbon. " In the tumult of civil discord the laws of society lose their force, and their place is seldom supplied by those of humanity. The ardour of contention, the pride of victory, the despair of success, the memory of past injuries, and the fear of future dangers all contribute to flame the mind and to silence the voice of pity."

Muhammad Shah after his victory at Hasanpur ordered that the Saiyid should be referred to after their death, the one as Namakharam, and the other as Haramnamak. Khafi Khan says that Nizamul Mulk had objected to it and never used these abusive terms for them.[2]

---

1. Khazana-i-Amra. p. 168.
2. K.K. p. 941.
   Shiv Das. p. 129.

The Wizarat of Muhammad Amin Khan.

The Emperor after his victory over Saiyid Abdullah Qutbul Mulk left Bilochpura on 16th November, 1720, and passing through Chhainsa (17th), Talpat, (18th), Talah Kishan Das (19th) at last reached on 20th the skirts of Delhi where he visited the shrine of Kh.Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, and the shrine of Nizamuddin Auliya. On the last named shrine he gave one thousand rupees to the custodians. There he received in audience Muzaffar Khan, brother of Samsam-ud-Daulah Khan-i-Dauran, who offered one thousand gold coins, and got in return a Khilat. On the 22nd of November (22nd Muharram) he entered the city through Ajmeri Gate. When he came to the house of Muhammad Amin Khan, the wazir presented two trays full of jewels, five horses, and other presents. Afterwards, Muhammad Shah entered the fort.[1]

On the 25th, a grand darbar was held in Diwan-Khas; Raja Jai Singh was introduced by Aitamad-ud-Daulah who presented one thousand gold coins, and one thousand rupees, and received special dress of honour, a wreath of pearls, one elephant and one horse. The wazir was made Subedar of Multan, and Faujdar of Muradabad.[2]

The most important event of the year was the abolition of Jiziya by Muhammad Shah on the representation of Raja Girdhar Bahadur and Jai Singh who pleaded that the Hindus, the ancient inhabitants of the country and loyal to His Majesty, had prayed for the downfall of the Saiyid brothers.[3]

---

1. K.K. pp. 934-35.
   T.M. p. 251.
   Sahifa-i-Iqbal. f. 22(a)
   Kamwar. f. 194(a)
2. Ibid.
3. Shiv Das.p.132.

Muhammad Amin Khan, the wazir, after assuming this great office changed his attitude of high-handedness towards the people, to the amazement of all.[1] He was notorious for his rash and furious temperament and in inflicting cruelties on the people for their petty offences; he was greedy, lustful and dishonest in his dealings. But now a remarkable change had overcome him, his passions were soothened by the thought of responsibilities he had taken up on himself. Shiv Das writes that his administration was efficient, just and pure; his authority had struck awe and terror in the hearts of the officials. He admonished and insulted Bhagwat Rai, his own Diwan in the open court; other secretaries, Rai Bag Chand, Rai Tond Rai Karori Chand and Lakshmi Chand, trembled while submitting papers before him.[2] Yousuf Muhammad Khan the author of Fathiya, informs us that Muhammad Amin Khan during the days of his wizarat was keenly interested in the welfare of the people. Anyone who presented his case before him was satisfied by his just and prompt action the wazir would take the application, issue orders, and either on the same day or on the next, himself give the Sanad with his seal to the man concerned. In the transaction of business, he did not reply on clerks, officers and his secretaries, but himself examined the papers and issued orders.[3] Strangely enough, as Warid says, he made no distinction between the Saiyids and non-Saiyids in doing justice; but they could not

---

1. Warid. p. 567.
2. Shiv Das. p.
3. Fathiya. f. 132(a).

get employments or jagirs as the Mughuls could.[1]

Muhammad Amin Khan died after three months on 27th January, 1721, and was buried within the school he had founded out near the Ajmeri Gate.[2]

---

1. Warid. p. 568.
2. K.K. p. 939.

CHAPTER III.

The Wizarat of Nizamul Mulk, 1721-1724.

The country had passed through a period of anarchy as a result of the civil wars, which lowered the prestige of the central authority and encouraged fissiparious tendencies. Not far from the capital, the Mewatis had acquired immense plunder and because their depredations had been allowed to go unpunished they became bold and refractory.[1] Bayazid Khan Mewati, the Faujdar of Narnol, however, inflicted heavy losses of life and property on their marauding hosts.[2] In the west Punjab unruly zamindars and warlike tribes made peaceful life in towns and villages well-nigh impossible. Sher Afghan Khan was sent there and he suppressed them with an iron hand.[3] Churaman Jat was preparing to defy new government.[4] Another protegee of the Saiyids, Raja Ajit Singh, who two years before had been appointed governor of Ahmedabad,was also hostile to the new government. He came from Jodhpur to Ajmer and set himself there.[5] The conditions in the south were dangerously unsettled. Baji Rao, a man of extraordinary vigour and resolution was openly hostile and aggressive.[6]

The whole administrative machinery was paralysed by these recent upheavals. The new officials were of low stature,

---

1. K.K. p. 912.
2. T.M. p. 257.
3. Shiv Das.p. 137-140.
4. Qasim.p. 173.
5. Siyar. p. 70.
   T.M. p. 268.
6. Grant Duff. Vol.I. p. 396.

unfit to carry out the business of the state. The Jagirdars's hold over fiefs was lost, their collectors were turned out, the revenues of the Kharif harvest were not paid by the farmers.[1] Land revenues were reduced, and appalling[2] bankruptcy threatened the government.[3] The prices had shot up. Added to these were the natural calamities in the forms of earthquakes, flood and death which exasperated the sufferings of the people.[4]

Nizamul Mulk was eminently fitted to tackle the difficult problems. He had rich experience and administrative ability backed by his recent successes. Austere and frugal with abounding faith and courage, " he was gifted with pronounced political genius and with an astounding power of foresight."[5] His life was a ceasless struggle for existence and yet he had the leisure to devote himself to the cultivation of his poetic talents.

Nizamul Mulk after his victory over Alam Ali Khan on 6th Shawwal, 1132 H (21st July, 1720) went back to Aurangabad, where he learnt of the assissnation of Husain Ali Khan which was proclaimed by the beating of drums and the feeding of a large number of persons. One month later, more heartening intelligence of Qutbul Mulk's arrest was received in his camp at the same place.[6] Nizamul Mulk was duly informed of both the events by the Emperor, and was asked to come to Delhi leaving Iwaz Khan Bahadur as his deputy in the south.[7] Long before this Muhammad

---

1. K.K. pp. 912, 936.
2. Miratul Haqaiq ff. 84(a); 191(b). For example the revenues in Sambhal and Kashkar (Gujrat) had been reduced in the times of Farrukh-Siyar from 10 lakhs and 6 lakhs to 7 lakhs and 1 lakhs of rupees respectively.
3. In Delhi one rupee bought 4 seer of rice and one ser of ghee, while in Agra 7 seer wheat and 2 seer of ghee. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq, ff. 139(a); 138(b).
4. On 22nd of Ramazan 1132 H, Friday, earthquake occured in Delhi, and its shocks were continously felt for one month. The city wall, the wall of the fort, two doors of Fatehpur mosque, and other buildings collapsed. T.M. p. 207.
5. Asaf Jah, p. 291.
6. Hadiqat. p. 122.
7. Zafra-i-Deccan.p.71.

Shah had promised the Nizam to appoint him as his chief wazir, and now sent him a Farman written by his own hand.[1] The Nizam left Aurangabad for Burhanpur on his way to Delhi.[2] He had not crossed Fardapur pass when the news of his cousin's appointment to the desired charge reached him.[3] This breach of promise by Mohammad Shah shocked him, and he rightly resented it. Ever discreet and dignified, he tolerated and controlled his feelings, for he said, "If I march with a great army to attend the court, it would arouse my suspicions in the mind of the Emperor. They would think that without summon he had arrived. We wanted to avoid needless offence to the Emperor and unpleasantness with his cousin.... A great disorder would be created. Why should he then leave the country he had captured by his own right arm, and plunge into a whirlpool of troubles with open eyes."[4] He thus decided not to proceed further but sent a petition congratulating the Emperor on his spectacular success over his enemies, and a sum of five hundred Ashrafis as a present on this auspicious occasion.[5]

In Aurangabad he made few changes in the administration. Marahamat Khan was transferred from the Subedari of Burhanpur to Faujdari of Baklana. Mubariz Khan and Iwaz Khan were appointed deputy governors of Haiderabad and Aurangabad respectively.[6] He now repaired to Bijapur in order to suppress the zamindars.

---

1. Ahwal f. 179.
   Fathiya. f. 9(a).
2. Fathiya. f. 9(a)
3. Ibid.
4. Ahwal. f. 180(a).
5. Ma'sir-i-Asfi. p. 163.
6. Hadiqat. p. 123.

The Faujdar offered his submission and other zamindars presented themselves before him and the money he collected from the land-holders was distributed among the soldiers in lieu of salary for five months. While he was busy in settling the local affairs news came of his brother's death.[1] From Bijapur he returned to Aurangabad where he received an Imperial Farman ordering him to come and assume the duties of his new charge.[2] Nizamul Mulk entrusted the administration of all the six Subas of the Deccan to his most trusted officer Iwaz Khan; Diyanat Khan was made Diwan in place of Fida Khan who took leave to proceed to Mecca, and Asabdullah, son of Umadtul Mulk Amir Khan was raised to the office of chief Bakshi.[3]

In the month of Muharram 1134 H. he started from Burhanpur. When he passed through Rajputana, Raja Durjan Singh zamindar of Urcha, Raja Chhatar Singh, son of Raja Gaj Singh, zamindar of Narwar came to pay respects to him and offered presents. He treated them with generosity and assured them of his good offices in securing pardon for them from the Emperor.[4] At Agra he was received by Burhanul Mulk, governor of the Province. After staying there for a few days he set out for Delhi where he arrived in the latter part of Rabi II.[5] Samsamud-Daulah was directed by Muhammad Shah to meet Nizamul Mulk and bring him to the court. Accompanied by the Amirul-Umra, the Nizam presented himself before

---

1. Ahwal. f. 180(b).
2. Ahwal. f. 181(a).
3. Ibid.
4. Fathiya. f. 19(b).
5. Ibid.

the Emperor and offered one thousand gold coins and one thousand rupees. He was given a gold ornament inlaid with emeralds and diamonds for his turban, one elephant and two horses.[1] On the 6th Jamadi 1, a grand Darbar was held in which Nizamul Mulk was invested with the office of chief ministership, and was given by way of presents a special robe, jewels and an ornamental pen-case. The palace of Saidullah Khan was assigned to him for his residence, which he occupied on the 9th Janadi 1,.[2]

Nizamul Mulk now set out to reform the government. The basic problem was the poor condition of finance. .Before the assignments were increased, revenues from royal properties were sufficient to cover the expenses of the King's luxurious court, his harem, his lavish bounty, besides the demand of the army and the civil services. But of late, reckless alienation of crown lands had adversely affected imperial financial stability.

At the death of Farrukh-Siyar, fiefs worth 20 lakhs of rupees were under the control of Jagirdars in the Doab.[3] This was enormously increased by Muhammad Shah whose sole aim was to keep nobles happy and contented. The royal favourities, who were neither warriors nor statesmen were raised to mansabs as high as those of seven thousands horse, to the indignation of the old nobility. One would cry out, " I am a descendant of Mahabat Khan" another would boast, " I am one of the grandsons of Ali Mardan Khan;" now, all unemployed, they shouted, " Faryad, Faryad," (Redress, redress).[4] Most of the newly elevated mansab-dars did not possess the required number of horses. Sher Afghan

---

1. Fathiya. f. 13(b).
   K.K. p. 939.
   Ahwal. f. 181(b).
2. Sawaneh Deccan. f. 94(b).
   Warid. p. 569.
   Kamwar. f. 209.
   Shiv Das.143.
3. Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran. f. 24(b).
4. Ahwal. f. 182(b).

Khan who was given a mansab of seven thousand had not even seven assess, nor the money to recruit such a high number, and it was only after his successful expedition in Panipat, that he could claim himself worthy of the dignity thurst upon him.[1]

The jagirdars resorted to extortion by imposing custom duties on merchandise in their Jagirs, as they were getting nothing from agricultural yeilds. As a result of these taxes, the prices of houses, fruits and other merchandise goods soared up. While in the times of Alamgir, one rupee was enough for a journey from Patna to Akbarabad, now this amount was paid for taxes.[2] Some of the jagirdars after collecting grains from fields were selling in the imperial market, the market officers having been bribed did not check them. Oppressed by official exactions, administrative malpractices and lawlessness of the Jagirdars, the peasantry became disobedient and withheld payment.[2] Thus the royal coffers became empty, and the Emperor was forced to finding new measures to meet the increasing expenditure. This he found in a new system of Peshkash, which was a more dignified term for bribery for the sale of offices.

The Emperor was now completely dominated by Rahimun-Nisa now styled Kokiji, the foster sister. Daughter of Jan Muhammad, a geomancer, reputed to have been versed in the art of interpreting dreams and omens, Kokiji possessed a sharp understanding and sound common sense. She made her way to success by exploiting superstitous ladies of the palace particularly Qudsia Begum, and the nobles of the capital. Her beauty, personal charms and proficiency of a high degree in composition were her special

---

1. Shiv Das. p. 136.
2. Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran. f. 27.

attractions for the frivolous young Emperor. She had acquired ascendancy over his feeble mind by collecting money in the form of Peshkash.[1] Shah Abdul Ghafoor[2] and Roshanu-Daulah[3] assisted her in that task. The former was believed to have made intensive study of magic and the art of divination, and of writing amulets, and through these means he maintained domination over the young king.[4] The fourth member of her group was Hafiz Khidmatyar Khan. " He was like a gilded copper, and in reality he retained the qualities of slaves and eunuchs, who prefer men of base birth and low habits to the well-born.[5] This clique of four utterly

---

1. K.K. p. 940.
   Ashob. p. 86.
   Warid. p. 510.
2. Shah Abdul Ghafoor originally belonged to Thatta. He had served a Hindu Fakir who taught him magic spells and incantations. In the reign of Alamgir he left his own native place, and suffering privations and hardships went to Kabul and there met Bahadur Shah. Since then he remained in his camp. After his death he went to Delhi, where he employed himself to the profession of sooth-saying and making prophicies. In the times of Farrukh-Siyar Muhammad Amin Khan became his patren. He served as a secret messenger btween Muhammad Amin Khan and the mother of the Emperor. Warid. pp. 502-505. Ashob. pp. 118-19.
3. His real name was Khwaja Muzaffar, an inhibatent of Panipat, and the disciple of Shah Bhika. During the reign of Bahadur Shah, he held very insignificant position in the government. But in the days of Farrukh-Siyar he was raised to a high status by the increase of his mansab to 7,000, as he was expected to arrest Qutbul Mulk. When the Saiyids were in power he was an important man in the central government. In the times of Muhammad Shah, his fortunes were further exalted by his friendship with Kokiji. His mansab was 7,000/7,000; he was third Bakhshi, and Mir Bakshi of Risala Ahdiyan. Ashob. p. 89.
4. He was a pupil of Kazi Muhammad Akram, the chief Kazi in the reign of Alamgir. The Kazi showed great affection and love for him. He had served Alamgir in his last days. After his death, he went to Bahadur Shah, who favoured him and gave him the title of Khidamatyar Khan. During the reign of Jahandar Shah and Farrukh-Siyar he could make no progress, but in the beginning of Muhammad Shah's reign he was raised to a mansab of 5,000/5,000 horse on the recommendation of Kokiji. Warid. p. 510. Ashob. pp. 84-85.
5. Irvine. p. 265 (ii).

were never sanctioned, or even seriously considered by the Emperor, and consequently the wazir made no attempt to carry them out. Without the assistance and moral support of the Emperor or colleagues who could see eye to eye with him no reforms were possible.

Opposition of Kokiji to his Reforms.

The powerful clique headed by a clever lady was alarmed at the challenge to their power. The fear of being deprived of the privileges they had enjoyed unchecked made them resist the measures the wazir proposed to introduce. They played now skilfully on the fears and suspicions of the feeble-minded monarch, by telling him that the minister intended to arrest him and raise Prince Ibrahim to the throne. On the other side, they approached the chief minister and suggested the name of the Prince who could replace Muhammad Shah. This double game at last bore fruits and both were estranged from each other; and an atmosphere of suspicion and fear now prevailed. Nizamul Mulk ceased to attend the court.[1] Moreover, his simple manners had been ridiculed by the harlots; they had hurled on him insults for his strange behaviour in the court.[2] Under their sinister influence Muhammad Shah like a weather cock, veered from ~~first~~ one course to the another; no drastic action was taken by him. His mother assured her son of Nizam's sincerity and loyalty for him, and Muhammad Shah sent Samsamud-Daulah to conciliate him and bring him to the court.[3]

---

1. K.K. p. 949.
   Ahwal.f. 183.
2. Siyar. Vol.I. 266.
3. Ahwal. f. 183(b).

Nizamul Mulk at this state demanded the immediate dismissal of Haider Quli Khan from the court who had been hostile to the minister from the beginning. It was on 12th October, 1721, that Haider Quli Khan had supreseded Raja Ajit Singh as governor of Gujrat and in recognition of this service, was appointed governor of the province. On the recommendation of the new governor, one Kazim Beg Khan, known as Masum Ali Khan was appointed deputy to him, with the title of Shujaat Ali Khan Bahadur, with a mansab of 3,000/2,000 horse. Jaafar Quli Khan, son of Haider Quli Khan was appointed diwan of the province; Shujaat Ali Khan got the charge of his new office peacefully from Bhandari, the deputy of Raja Ajit Singh, but Jaafar Quli Khan had difficulties with Nahir Ali Khan, who combined in himself the offices of diwan, Fajudar and Darogha of several places, and hence was powerful to resist the new officer.[1] He demanded travelling expenses and on being refused fighting ensued between the two parties resulting in heavy casualties on either sides. It was only on the intervention of Aitmad Ali Khan, the author of Miratul Haqaiq that peace was restored and a sum of two lakhs and fifty thousands of rupees were paid to Nahir Khan who consequenly left the city.[2] Besides these local disorders, Marathas incursions under the command of Khandaro Debhade had started, and threw the province into commotion. Nizamul Mulk ordered Haider Quli Khan to repair to his province and restore order there.[3]

Leaving Khan Zaman Mewati as his deputy in the office of

1.Miratul Haqaiq. f. 29(a)
2.Ibid. f. 30(a).
3.Grant Duff. p. 373.

Mir Atash, Haider Quli Khan sat out for Gujrat on the Ist.April, 1712.[1] On his way to Gujrat he laid hands on Nazeer Beg, a mansabdar who was bringing horses of Iraqi and Arab breed from Surat to present to the Emperor. All the horses were taken away and distributed among his followers.

In the beginning of the next month Haider Quli Khan reached Dhebar, in Pargana Thanesra. He sacked the place, killing Muslim men and women. Thence he marched towards Loana, and money was collected from the zamindars of the town. Rustum Ali Khan and Yadgar Ali were sent in the direction of Chawal. He entered Ahmedabad and ordered the Jagirs of government mansabdars to be confiscated. Shujaat Khan Bahadur came from Junagadh and presented one handle of a dagger, worth Rs 10,5,000, one hundred gold coins, and one lakh and fifthy thousands rupees.[2] Behaving like Emperor he rewarded him with the robe of honour of five pieces, one elephant, two horses; Rustum Ali Khan and Yadgar Ali Khan Darogha of artillary came and received rewards in the form of Khilat and an elephant. Next the governor went to Morasa, and encamped near the garden of Nawab Hafiz Muhammad Khan, son of Mir Jumla Alamgiri. There he increased the mansab of Rustum Ali Khan by 500/2,000 Sawar and the salary by two thousand rupees; he also bestowed on him the privilege of drum beating and carrying flag.[3] The Zamindar of Durgapur was asked to furnish him with one lakhs of rupees.[4] Similarly the Zamindars of Lonawara and Hanola were required to pay special contributions. Those who refused to pay were severly punished for their guilt. He also

---

1. K.K. p. 940.
   T.M. p. 273.
   Kamwarff. 210.(a).
2. Miratul Haqaiq. f. 31(a).
3. Ibid. f. 31.(b).
4. Mirati Ahmadi.p.47.II.

imposed extra taxes over and above the land assessment, vexatious to the landed aristocracy of Gujrat.[1] When Bengali Khan, Faujdar of Gudhra died in Ahmednagar, his property was escheated without any reference to the central government.* As a result of this his jagirs in the neighbourhood of Delhi were seized in compensation for those he had taken over in Ahmedabad.[2] He built up an army of 20,000 soldiers, appointing foreigners to the post of generalship, a number more than he actually required.[3] When Haider Quli Khan was ordered to refrain from these treasonable acts, he assured the Emperor of his loyalty, but wrote to his friends that he had brought Gujrat under control by sheer strength of his arms distributing his wealth among his soldiers, If someone had the power to challenge him, let him come and deprive him of it.[4]

Nizamul Mulk worried the Emperor of the danger of revolt in the rich but distracted province and sought his permission which was given reluctantly, to dismiss him. He was replaced by Muhammad Ghaziuddin Khan Bahadur.[5]

Nizamul Mulk insisted on the suppression of Haider Quli Khan by force, and requested the Emperor to allow him to proceed to Gujrat and deal with the rebel. The wazir was given Rs 10 lakhs to finance his army, a special Khilat, two horses and one elephant. His son Muhammad Ghaziuddin Khan was appointed his

---

1. Fathiya. f. 16(b).
2. *Miratai-Ahmadi. p. 45. Vol.II.
2. K.K. p. 941.
3. Warid. p. 572.
4. Kamwar. f. 214.(a). T.M. p. 275. Hadiqat.p. 125.
5. Fathiya. f. 17(a).

deputy to look after to his work during his absence. The Nawab got the subedaris of Gujrat and Malwa, besides the 6 subas of the Deccan.[1] Passing through Muthra and Agra and Sarangpur he reached Dhar, in Malwa, on 13th February, 1723, where he was was joined by Iwaz Khan, Muhtashim Khan, and his uncle, Abdur Rahim Khan.[2]

When Haider Quli Khan heard of his dismissal and the appointment of Nizamul Mulk to the subedari of Gujrat, he made preparation to resist the new governor. On the 19th Safar, he encamped near Shahi Bagh and called Rustum Ali Khan from Baroda and then retired to the tank of Kangria.[3] At the same time he sent his son to the court to plead his case before the Emperor. He was graciously received and nawab Roshan-u-Dualah advocated his case with a view to secure pardon for Haider Quli Khan.[4] By this time, Haider Quli Khan's condition had become extremely desperate on account of the desertion of notable chiefs, like Mehr Ali Khan Salabat Khan, Zabardast Khan and Asad Khan.

Accompanied by Raghunath Dass, Haider Quli Khan left the province,[5] and hurried through Rajputana on his way to Delhi. When he reached Rewari on 6th April, 1723, he received orders to lead the expedition against Raja Ajit Singh who had again raised the standard of revolt by killing Mehar Khan, Diwan of Ajmer and Faujdar of Sambhar.[6]

---

1. Kamwar. f. 214(b). Sawaneh Daccen f.95(a). Fathiya f.17(b).
2. Fathiya f.17(b).
   K.K.p.946.
3. Miratul Haqaiq. f. 32(a). Mirat-i-Ahmedi Vol.II. p.47.
4. K.K.947. Fathiya f.18(a).
5. Tarih-i-Hind. p. 496.
6. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p. 47 Vol.II.

From Ujjain Nizamul Mulk informed the Emperor of Haider Quli Khan's flight from Gujrat, and requested that Hamid Khan, his uncle should be appointed as deputy to him. He at the same time recommended severe punishment for Haider Quli Khan.[1] He had usurped one karor of rupees from Ahmedabad alone and caused much sufferings to the people. No Mansab or rank should be left to him. If clemency was to be shown to him, he should be asked to choose any place out of Multan, Kashmir and Thatta as his new charge.[2] The Emperor first declined to appoint Hamid Khan to the post, but on the assurance given by Nizamul Mulk in the next letter, his appointment was sanctioned.[3] Hamid Khan was immediately sent to Ahmedabad by Nizamul Mulk to take charge of his new office. He was received by Shujait Khan who presented to him one elephant, one hundred gold coins, one thousand rupees and other valuble articles.[4] Nizamul Mulk made other changes in the personnel of the provincial government. Shahpur Khan was appointed Faujdar of the new parganas formed as Khalsa Lands, and Rehman Quli Khan, was allowed to officiate during his absence.

Another task to which Nizamul Mulk now set himself to settle matter with Dost Muhammad Khan Ruhella, who in 1720 had joined the force of Dilawar Ali Khan despatched by the Saiyid brothers against him. Moreover, the Ruhella chief was encouraging refractory elements to create troubles in the province.[5]

---

1. Minshat. ff. 94(a), 92, 97(a), 82(a).
   Ashob. p. 163.

First an interview was granted to him by the Nizam, but out of peaceful talks nothing came out. He refused to hand over the fortresses, he had brought in his possession, desist from molesting the weak and helpless. He soon made heavy preparations to encounter the Nizam by posting strong garrison for the defence of Islamgarh.[1] The fortress was besieged with vigour and resolution. The garrison suffered heavy losses, and in the end surrendered. According to the terms of peace, Islamgarh was taken away from him; Chander Hans, son of Kamchand, was appointed Qiladar and Faujdar of the fortress. Dost Muhammad Khan would draw his salary only from his jagirs, and would keep no Mahal in his possession; his son was to accompany the Nizam to the court. Azimullah Khan, his nephew, was made deputy governor of the province.[2]

Nizamul Mulk now returned to the capital which he reached on 3rd July, 1723. The Emperor sent Khan-i-Dauran to receive him. He was rewarded in recognition of his recent services with Khilat, a string of pearls, an elephant with golden trappings, and Arab horses.

On his return he found that the whole complexion of the court had altered and an atmosphere of suspicion and jealousy had developed. The Emperor, pleasure-seeking and slothful, had withdrawn himself from the state business. " What good was there in the Emperor sitting like a woman secluded within four walls? If sovereigns take to women's habits and entangle themselves in their tresses, what can a good Muhammadan do,

---

1. Fathiya. f. 20(b).
2. Minshat. f. 75(a).
   Fathiya. f. 20(b).
   Hadiqat. p. 126.
   Warid. p. 575.

but to migrate to the Holy Places, or if that journey funds be wanting, take a dose of poison and leave this for another world"[1], was the reaction of Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi to the prevailing state of affairs.

The worthless persons who had been elevated to the status of nobility, were devoid of any wisdom to advise the Emperor to work for the good of the state. They only spent their time in flattery and keeping the Emperor in a happy mood.[2] The court was divided into factions and the work of Nizamul Mulk was hampered at every step by the comrades of Kokiji, each of whom thought of himself as the chief minister and interfered in all the departments of state. " Public business was dealt with as if it were a child's toy, revenue business was disposed of by the heads of the army, and night watchmen decided cases instead of the Kazi.[3]

Notwithstanding these difficulties, Nizamul Mulk, as an administrator had some basic failings. Like all men of pre-eminent ability and dominating personality, Nizamul Mulk refused to yield to people of little capacity the least share in the fruits of his triumphs. He was no doubt large-hearted to forgive the faults of his foes, but not the knack of shuting their mouths by satisfying their worldly appetites. He

---

1. K.K. p. 947.
2. Ashob. p. 142-45.
3. Irvine. pp. 132 and 134. Vol.II.

had no skill to form a party in the court which could serve as a solid barrier to his enemies. He had appointed himself to the governorships of the Deccan, Malwa and Gujrat and had secured rich jagirs in these provinces and the Gangetic Doab. His sons, nephews and other relations held posts of profit and honour. All this deepened the ill-feelings and jealousies of his antagonists, and excited suspicion of irresponsibility and unbounded power in the mind of the Emperor.[1]

The recent arrangements in Malwa and Gujrat had opened doors of censure and criticism in the court and he had to defend his position in a letter to the Empror, in which he argued that for the sake of expediency he had taken the charge of Malwa and Ahmedabad, and after his return he would resign from these posts.[2] His argument was unconvincing to the feeble intelligence of Muhammad Shah. Added to this, his untimely suggestion of despatching an expedition under his own command to support the Persian Emperor, Shah Tahmasp Mirza, was interpreted by the courtiers as a means of increasing his military powers and use it against the Emperor.[3] At an age when men neither learn nor forget, Nizamul Mulk clung with tenacity to old traditions of purity and austerity, prevalent in the court of Alamgir. His remonstrances against abuses at the

---

1. Shah Nama Deccan. p. 153.
2. Minshat-i-Mosvi Khan. f. 72(b).
3. K.K. p. 948.
   Shah Nama Daccen. p. 153.

court were irksome, and only produced dislike and hatred, and in the end fear and enmity.[1] Cold and self-contained, the Nizam saw his unsuitability to work in such atmosphere and decided to leave the ill-starred monarch to his inevitable fate.

Early in the month of October, 1723, Nizamul Mulk sent his resignation and ceased to attend the court but through some negotiations reconciliation was effected.[2] A month had elapsed when the wazir requested the Emperor to grant him leave for a hunting excursions[3] to his jagirs at Sambhal and Muradabad.[5] He left on 17th December as he had taken with himself his whole family, army and equipage, it was suspected that the Nizam had his own designs. Muhammad Shah also came out to meet him and stayed there to see the results of negotiations he had already started through Raja Gujjar Mal Saxena, Diwan of the Khalsa for a compromise with Nizamul Mulk. But death overtook the meditator while he was reading a written statement containing the terms of the discontented wazir for his return to office. The unexpected event ended all possibilities in this direction and Nizamul Mulk thinking any delay unwise resumed his march towards the Deccan.[4]

The governorship of the six subas had been conferred on prince Shahryar only few months of age and Mubariz Khan was to act as his deputy.[5] Nizamul Mulk passing through Malwa

---

1. K.K. 949.
2. Irvine. p. 135. Vol.II.
3. K.K. p. 950.
   Warid. p. 567.
   T.M. p.280.
   Hadiqat. p. 127.
   Ahwal. f. 184(b).
4. Irvine. p. 136. Vol.II.
5. Khazana Amra.p. 36.
   Shah Nama Daccen. p. 157.
   Fathiya f. 23(a).
   Ahwal.f. 185.(a). Warid. f. 23 (a).

reached Aurangabad, by the month of Zilqada (July-August) 1724.[1] From Agra Nizamul Mulk had written to the Emperor that he was going to the south in order to expell the Marathas who were invading and plundering the imperial territories.[2]

In the meantime the prince had died and Mubariz Khan was made the chief governor of the 6 Subahas of the south. A sum of Rs 5 lakhs from the central government and several ~~K~~ lakhs from the revenues of the province were provided for him to finance his army which was to fight against the rebel, Nizamul Mulk.[3]

---

1. T.M. p. 280.
   K.K.p. 950.
   Hadiqat. p. 127.
   Ahwal.f. 185(b).
2. K.K. p. 950.
3. Ahwal. f. 186(b).
   Warid. p. 577.

C H A P T E R IV.

NIZAMUL MULK IN THE DECCAN, 1724-1732.

Nizamul Mulk's victory over Mubariz Khan.

When Nizamul Mulk reached Aurabgabad, Mubariz Khan was engaged in the reduction of Phulchari near Machhlibander.[1] Availing himself of his absence, the Nizam with his usual promptitude, occupied the capital of the south, where Iwaz Khan joined him.[2] Mubariz Khan thus lost the first round of the game. He wasted much time in conquering some petty fortress, unmindful of the strength his adversary had acquired.[3] As was his habit, he attempted to compromise with the foe before commencing hostilities. In his letter Nizamul Mulk pointed out to him that the surrender of the only place he now possessed would be disasterious for him; Mubariz Khan should wait till he secured another appointment, which he expected very soon, from the Emperor.[4]

But ambition and the pressure of his hot-headed Afghans,

---

1. K.K.p. 952.
   M.U. III. p. 737.
   Hadiqat. p. 129.
2. M.U.p. 736.
3. Majmaul Insha-i-Wala Jahi. p. 38.
   The Emperor upbraided Mubariz Khan for his negligence in the defence of Aurabgabad. At the time of issuing the first Farman, Nizamul Mulk was in Moradabad, and Mubariz Khan was somewhere near Deogarh.
4. Warid. p. 618.
   Shah Namah Deccan. pp. 159-60.
   Ashob. p. 162.
   K.K.p. 952.(According to him several notes were exchanged between them).
   T.M. p. 280.
   Ahwal. f. 186(b).
   The author of Mirat-ul-Hadaiq, Aitmad Ali Khan(f.34.b) mentions no such correspondence; but, on the other hand writes that, Mubariz Khan sent the Imperial Farman to him and sought his advice in the matter. The Nizam replied, "Well, accempt my congratulations, send your deputy, and come yourself to take the charge." Mubariz Khan thus deluded, came to Aurahgabad without making any ~~rep~~ preparations for battle. This statement is not supported by other writers.

made Mubariz Khan to ignore the proposals. The Afghan military leaders with their war bands joined him and for their own self-aggrandizment incited Mubariz Khan to mobolise his strength.[1] They told him that the service of crown and God were identical and that loyalty to anyone else was a sin. Mubariz had no alternative but prepare for the armed conflict which was inevitable.[2] The Nizam at the end of Zilqad 1136 H, (3rd September, 1724) set out from Aurabgabad, in the midst of lightning, thunder, wind and rain.[3] From the side of Zafarnagar came Mubariz Khan, and, when his army was at a distance of 24 miles from that of the Nizam, he marched off to Aurangabad which was defenceless.[4] His evident avoidance of battle when he was actually infront of the enemy was reckoned by the Mughal army as cowardice and a sure sign of his weakness.[5] He had left a detachment to harass the Nizam's flanks and hamper his further progress. Nizamul Mulk with great difficulty crossed

---

1. Ahwal. f. 186(b).
   M.U. p. 737.
   Warid. p. 578.
   K.K. p. 952.
2. Ahwal.ff. 187(a), 188(b).
3. K.K. p. 952.
   Ahwal.f. 189(a).
4. Ahwal.f. 189(a)(b).
   Hadiqat. p. 129.
   M.U. p. 740.
5. Ahwal. f. 190(a).
   M.U.p. 741.
   Nizamul Mulk could not believe the report of his flight in the beginning, although he ordered the drums of victory to be beaten. He for long pondered over the event, and never relaxed his vigilence.

the river and advanced to Shakar Khera, where he overtook Mubariz Khan and encamped there on 23rd of Muharram.[1]

Nizamul Mulk had an army of nearly seventy thousand horse and foot, and including ten thousand Marathas led by Baji Rao.[2] The army of Mubariz Khan numbered fifty thousand. In the afternoon of 23rd Muharram 1137 H. (11th October, 1724) Mubariz Khan's vanguard started the battle which soon became hard and hot.[3] Iwaz Khan was the first to bear the brunt of the furious assault made by the Khan's army.[4] Mubariz Khan's two sons, Asad Khan and Masaud Khan were killed and an hour before sunset, after fighting with undaunted gallantry he was also killed.[5] His two sons Mahmud Khan and Hamidullah Khan were wounded and made prisoners. On the side of Nizamul Mulk only three persons of note were reported to have died, Reyat Khan, Nizam's cousin being one

---

1. K.K. p. 953.
   M.U.p.741.
   Hadiqat.p.129.
   Ahwal.f. 191(a).
2. Miratul Haqiaq.f. 290(b)

Nizam's army was divided in the following order.		The army of Mubariz Khan was divided in this order.	
Mughul Horse	20 thousand.	Horse	22 thousand.
Foot soldiers	40 thousand.	Infantry.	27 thousand.
Maratha.	10 thousand.		

   According to Ahwal (f.193,a) Nizam's army was nearly one lak while that of Mubariz Khan was only fourteen thousand.
3. K.K. p. 957.
   Hadiqat. p. 131.
   Ahwal. f. 191(b).
   Ashob f. 162.
   Siyar. p. 459.
4. M.U.p.741.
5. Ahwal.f. 192(b).
   Ashob. p. 162.
   Warid. p. 579.He says that fighting dragged on for four days
   T.M.p. 980. According to him Mubariz Khan was killed by
   Nizamul Mulk himself.
   Sawaneh Deccan. f. 96(b).

of them.[1] On the following day the dead were buried and the wounded attended to. Mubariz Khan was buried in the plain outside the town of Shakar Khera.[2] Nizam's victory over Mubariz Khan was the beginning of the establishment of his dynasties rule over the south. He expressed his feelings of gratification by naming the place as "Fath Khelda or Village of Victory." Shortly afterwards Nizamul Mulk returned in triumph to Aurahgabad.[3] There he bestowed rewards and honours in a sovereign like fashion on comrades in arms, Mansabs ranging from four thousands to seven thousands were given to veterans of his army. Some of them got titles and the privilege of a standard and kettle drum; while others, for their treachery, felt the full vigour of justice. But intelligence of the revolt in Hyderabad distracted his attention from completing the administrative arrangements. Khwaja Ahmad Khan was known to have energeticaly prepared for resistance in Hyderabad where his father Mubariz Khan had left him incharge.[4] He called upon the shattered remanants of his father's army to join him, and instructed the Faujdars and zamindars to keep on resisting the usurper. At the head of a powerful faction, and in possession of the Golcanda fort, with the hope of succession to the Subedari of Deccan, Ahmad Khan had regarded his success as certain. He made provisions for the garrison and strengthend the fortifications of the fort.[5]

---

1. K.K. p. 959.
   Ahwal. f. 193(a).
   Warid. p. 580.
2. M.U.p. 743 (iii).
3. K.K. p. 961.
   Ahwal.p. f. 157(a).
4. M.U.p.744. Vol.III.
5. Ibid.p.

Fully aware of the danger, Nizamul Mulk set out to crush hostility. During the course of the journey to Hyderabad he secured the submission of Kazim Ali Khan and his partisans including Appa Rao. In Hyderabad he asked Ahmad Khan to give up his intention and make submission to him.[1]

Ahmad Khan, according to Aitmad Ali Khan, held out for long.[2] The Nizam soon left the scene and repaired for Karnatik. It was on his return from that quarter that Ahmad Khan, finding no succour from any side, submitted to the victor, through Dilawar Khan, his father-in-law.[3]

The country which Nizamul Mulk had made his home and to which he applied his energy and resources to make it strong/afforded a gloomy spectacle. The war-worn Alamgir had left it in a state of utter desolation and anarchy. Political revolutions at Delhi and the rapid changes of governors that followed the death of Aurangazeb militated against hopes of restoring the land to normal life. The five viceroys, all men of outstanding merits were compelled to take active interest in the court factions. Their time in Deccan was occupied in curbing the Maratha mayraders who had spread like ants during the last years of Alamgir's reign, plundering and devastating the surrounding villages and towns. The Marathas had become supreme all over the country, and the imperial governor's deputies, too weak to check their encroachments, were content to purchase immunity by allowing them to collect black-mail.

---

1. Ahwal. f. 197(a).
2. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq.f. 290(b).
3. Ahwal. f. 197(b).
   M.U.p. 745.
   Hadiqat. p.137.

in the province. On all sides confusion was rampant; fields lay uncultivated; irrigation system was destroyed; roads were infested with robbers; trade and industry came to standstill; and all signs of peace and order disappeared. Inspite of all that " the six Deccan provinces had a standard revenue of 160 million rupees against 170 million from the other 12 provinces of the Indian Empire; and though the actual collection have had fallen to 130 million or even less, it was still larger than what came to the impoverished exchequer of Delhi."[1]

His interference in the affairs of Gujrat.

The province of Gujrat lay adjacent to the north-west frontier of Nizam's dominions, and had served for the Mughul Emperors as a strong military base and a shore-house of supplies to the fighting forces in the south. Besides this strategical importance, the province had flourishing in commerce and trade. Moreover the revenues of Surat had been earmarked to meet the expenses of the Deccan government.[2] Nizamul Mulk had some of richest jagirs in Gujrat. His interest in the province was political as well as economic. Its control by enemies meant a standing threat to his dominions. He remembered how the Saiyid brothers had asked Nahir Khan to furnish a force of two thousand horse and finance it with the treasure of Ahmadabad, to help Alam Ali Khan,[3] and lately Shujaat Khan Bahadur had been instructed by

---

1. Sarkar's Article on Hyderabad, Cambridge History Vol.IV.
2. Minshat-i-Mosvi Khan.f. 134(b).
3. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. f. 187 (a).

with him. On the suggestion of Shujaat Khan, the Emperor put at his disposal three laksh of rupees from the treasury of Surat for building up a force of twenty thousand horse in order to lead an expedition against Nizamul Mulk and his partisans.[1] Frightened by the new danger, he had no alternative but to checkmate the Emperor by asking Hamid Ali Khan to hold on with the assistance of the Marathas.[2] His idea was to make ineffective the activities of his enemies in the frontier province, while in the meantive consolidate his resources in his own kingdom.

Hamid Ali Khan invited Kanthaji Kadon Bande, an officer of Shahu, then in Khandesh, to come and join him on promise of allowing him Chauth.[3]

Reinforced by the Maratha contingents under the command of Kanthaji, Hamid Ali Khan succeeded in defeating and killing Shaujaat Khan in a hard combat fought at a distance of 8 miles from Ahmedabad in December, 1724. Hamid Ali Khan's authority was re-established in the capital.[4] Apprised of his brother's death, Ibrahim Quli Khan, followed with fifty brave youths, went to the house of Hamid Ali Khan in order to kill him. Putting the guards of the house to sword, they got into the

---

1. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p. 56 (Vol.II).
   Ibid. p. 59.
   Ashob says that Nizamul Mulk had asked Hamid Ali Khan not to fight with Shujaat Khan and come to Deccan. Ashob.p.167.
2. Warid. p. 581.
   Ashob. p. 167.
   Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p.59.
3. S.P.D. No.312.
4. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. 61.
   Mirat-ul-Haqaiq.f.36(b).
   Ashob. p. 167.
   Warid. p. 581.
   K.K.966.

house and made a thorough search of Hamid Ali Khan. Hamid Ali Khan taken by surprise, hid himself in a room. Ibrahim Quli Khan put to death a large number of persons, went inside the private apartments, and being disappointed came back, but was attacked and killed by Hamid Ali Khan and his men who by that time had come out of their hidden places.[1] Rustum Ali Khan, the deceased's brother, in a spirit of revenge, took desperate measure in inviting Pilaji to his aid on the same terms on which Kantaji had fought on the side of his adversary.[2] But in the thick of contest waged between two forces ~~in the forces~~ in the village of Aras in Pargana Pitald, about 25 miles from Ahmadabad, on 8th February, 1725, Pilaji, who had already confided himself with Hamid Ali Khan, betrayed Rustum Ali Khan and remained passive spectator watching an opportunity for plunder.[3] Nevertheless, Rustum Ali Khan triumphed, as Hamid Ali Khan's ally Knathaji was also indifferent to fighting[4]

---

1. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. f. 37(a).
   K.K. p. 966.
   Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p. 65.
2. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p. 69.
   Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. f. 37(b).
   K.K. p. 969.
   Ashob. p. 168.
   According to Mirat-i-Ahmedi, Rustum Ali Khan had been advised by his friends to await the approach of the rainy season when Hamid Ali Khan's Maratha allies would be out. But his heart being afire for revenge, he paid no heed to the advice (p.69). He had with him a force of 15,000 horsemen and 30,000 matchlockmen and bowmen and sufficient artillery.
   Ashob. p. 168.
3. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. 72.
   Hamid Ali Khan sent Nizam's letter to Pilaji, calling upon him to help his uncle. Pilaji visited Hamid Khan's camp. Terms were agreed on, robes of honour were conferred upon him, and he returned to his own camp. Rustum Ali was reported of this interview, but he remained indifferent regarding the war as nothing more than a gamble,
   Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p.70.
4. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p.72.

Hamid Ali Khan effected his escape from the battle field and sought refuge in the camp of Knathaji. Both Maratha generals threw their masks of alliance to their respective pay-masters, and plundered their camps with perfect impartiality in a most reckless manner. Hamid Ali Khan reprimanded Knataji for his culpable indifference and asked him to resume the offensive against the enemy.[1] In the meantime, they were joined by a Maratha force from the Deccan sent by the Peshwa under the command of Pawar and Baji Bhivrao to take share in the general plunder of the province.[2] The confiderates with added strength and confidence started attacking ceaslessly Rustum Ali Khan's army. The supplies of provisions were cut off, his numbers diminished, and successive skirmishes disheartened him. In the village of Basu, in Pargana Pitald, on 21st February, 1725, a decisive action took place, in which Rustum Ali Khan was killed and his whole army destroyed.[3]

When reports of this disaster reached Delhi, the Emperor urged Surbuland Khan to march in person and save the province. He was given a sum of 50 lakhs of rupees and a well-equipped force was put at his service.[4] The news of his approach caused defection in the ranks of Hamid Ali Khan. His forces melted out, and even the Marathas truned deaf ears to his entreaties.

---

1. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p. 72.
2. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. 72.
   S.P.D. XXX. No.312.
3. S.P.D. XXX. No.312.
   Mirat-i-Ahmedi. p. 76.
   Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. f. 38(a).
   Warid. p. 583.
   Ashob. p. 168.
   Grant Duff is of the opinion that Rustum Ali Khan stabbed himself to the heart, in order to avoid the ignomious treatment after his imprisonment. Vol.II.p.399.
   Bombay Gazetteer. Vol.I. Part 1, pp.304-5.
   K.K.p.970.
4. Mirat-i-Ahmedi.p.79. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. f. 41(b). K.K.p.970.

Thinking that he could no longer reckon on any support, he gave up the idea of further resistance, and left the province.

Though Hamid Ali Khan did not succeed in retaining his mastery over Gujrat, Nizamul Mulk's aim was achieved. His enemies, were kept at bay for a long time. The Imperial authority collapsed in the province, giving place to anarchy and confusion.

Asaf Jah had humbled the Emperor and crippled the power of his rivals. The whole of the Imperial Deccan lay at his feet. He enjoyed the undivided allegiance of his subjects, and posed as their leader. " In a short time the country was brought under the control of Muslim authorities - it was scoured from the abominations of infidelity and tyranny. Under former Subedars, the roads had been infested with ruffianism of highway robbers and rapacity of the Marathas and rebellious Zamindars, so that traffic and travelling were stopped, but now the high ways were safe and secure."[1]

His dominions extended from the river Tapti, to Mysore and from the Carnatic right down to as far as Trichonopoly, and on the eastern coast, from Chicacole right down to the south.

His relations with the Marathas upto 1732.

During his first viceroyalty of the Deccan (May 1713-June 1715) Nizamul Mulk had come in contact with the Marathas. The two years of his office were passed in keeping them within limits and strengthening the Imperial power in the province.

---

1. K.K. p. 972.

He repudiated the Maratha claims of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi over the whole of Deccan agreed by Daud Khan, and followed a firm and strong policy in dealing with them.[1] The Marathas met the challenge by creating disturbances in the country and black-mailing the towns and villages. Nizamul Mulk had to fight several contests with them in order to maintain the Imperial rule.[2] Along with these military operations he took recourse to diplomatic machinations. He exploited to his own advantage dissensions between Tara Bai and Shahu, and inveterate jealousy between Balaji and Chandrasen Jadav. The latter at a very critical moment of his life sought protection with Nizamul Mulk who bestowed on him a mansab of 7,000/7,000, and a large jagir with a revenue of 25 lakhs a year. Henceforward, Jadav continued to be an ally of the Nizam, and the enemy of Shahu and his Peshwa.

During his absence from the Deccan Husain Ali Khan granted the Marathas Chauth and Sardeshmukhi.

After the fall of the Saiyid Brothers, Nizamul Mulk, whose

---

1. K.K.p.743.
2. K.K.p.743-45.
   Hadiqat.pp.70,74,75.
   In one of the battles fought at Purandhar, Balaji sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of Nizam. After this peace was patched up between them, and Balaji for some time engaged himself in conflicts with Siddis and other Maratha rivals. But other Maratha leaders continued fighting with the Nizam who defeated them.
3. Jadav was envious of Balaji for the esteem and confidence in which he was held by Shahu. A trivial incident deepened the enmity into an armed conflict in which Jadav got the upper hand over his rival. Shahu was asked by Jadav to hand over Balaji who had fled to his court. This haughty demand was met by sending an expedition under Haibat Rao Nimblakar against him. At Adarki he was defeated. He shook off his allegiance to Shahu and joined Tara Bai.

successful revolt had largely contributed to the triumph of Muhammad Shah, was again the master of the Deccan, and in a more commanding position than during his previous viceroyalty.[1] Though he had been opposed by Baji Rao in the battle of Balupur, Nizamul Mulk did not give vent to his resentment and conciliated the Raja by promising to give up all what the royal grants had conceded.[2] Now when his power was established on firm grounds, he began to raise objection to the collection of Chauth by Shahu's officers within his dominions. As disputed between Sambaji of Kolahpur and Raja Shahu had yet not been settled, Nizamul Mulk made it an excuse for evading the payment of the dues; he declared that he would pay the money to only one legitimate claimant. Unmindful of Nizam's refusal, the Marathas were collecting their dues in the region between the Godvari and Aurangabad.[3]

In order to repel them from his territory he sent Chandersen, Rao Rambha, and Mukham Singh, who defeated the Mughuls in a battle on 15th December, 1720.[4] Elevated by this success Baji Rao advocated an aggressive policy against the enemy, while Shahu pressed him to adopt peaceful methods to adjust the differences. Accordingly on 4th January, 1721,

---

1. S.P.D. XXX.p.265.
2. Grant Duff. p. 386. Vol.I.
3. Ibid.
4. Sardesai. p. 73. Vol.II.
5. Sardesai. p. 74. Vol.II.

there took place the first meeting between the Peshwa and Nizamul Mulk near Chikhalthan, but without any decisive results.[1] Soon afterwards Nizamul Mulk was again sent for by the king to assume the office of vizaratship. He left Deccan in 1721 leaving Mubariz Khan behind him as deputy-governor who made no secret of his hostility towards Marathas. He rejected their claims and put obstacles in the way of collecting dues.[2] Nizamul Mulk perceiving that he stood on slippery ground quitted service in dudgeon and returned to Deccan. Confronted with this formidable array of opposition, Nizamul Mulk decided to end his discord with the Marathas and envisage a scheme of cooperative action in achieving his goal with them. At Malcha in Malwa a meeting between Nizamul Mulk and Baji Rao took place on 18th May, 1724. He not only recognised the Imperial grants of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, but also encouraged their pretentions over Malwa and Gujrat.[1] The Emperor had issued letters to Mughul officers and Rajas in the province to help Mubariz Khan in the impending battle against Nizamul Mulk.[2] Mubariz Khan acting on this advice also opened negotiations with the Marathas for their alliance. The demands made by them being staggering, were rejected by the Khan.[3] The Marathas clung to Nizamul Mulk and helped him materially in defeating his rival.[4]

In Aurangabad, after his victory over Mubariz Khan, Nizamul

---

1. S.P.D. XXX. pp. 33,34, also pp. 270-271. p. 269.
2. Journal of I.H.C.1940, pp. 204-15. Vol.XVII.
2. S.P.D. X.I. 3. Ibid.
4. S.P.D. XXX. pp. 33,34 also pp.270-271.

Mulk conferred on Baji Rao a mansab of 7,000 horse and robes of honour,as a mark of his gratitude and friendship.[1] He assigned a jagir near Indapur to Raja Shahu; and a fief in Berar was also given to Prathandi.[2] To get rid of obonxious tribute collectors, Nizamul Mulk agreed to make cash payment from his own treasury equivalent to Chauth in the Subah of Haiderabad. This Raja Shahu accepted. It was also agreed that a joint tour of the Carnatic would be made with Baji Rao to adjust their claims over the country.[3] Nizamul Mulk had realised the futility of resisting Maratha claims. Having cut himself off from the centre, he had now to live with his neighbours. Raja Shahu on his part involved in doesmtic dissensions was content with these agreements, but the Peshwa advocated an aggressive policy against the Nizam and ravage the rich provinces of Malwa and Gujrat. The Empire was tottering to its fall and they should "strike at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall off themselves." Having insinuated himself into the confidence of his master, Baji Rao kindled ambition in the feeble mind of Raja Shahu, and prevailed upon him not to heed the cowardly suggestions of Pratindhi.

Balgana and Khandesh lay at the gateway to Gujrat and Malwa and without possessing them or controlling the road

---

1. Grant Duff. p. 406 (ii).
2. K.K. p. 972.(ii).
3. Sardesai. p. 88(ii).

through them northward advance could never be made, and this was bound to bring the Marathas in conflict with the Nizam. Thus there " began the inevitable clash between legitimate but static authority and the dynamic spirit of expansion of a new people trying to find its place in the sun."[1] The two expeditions despatched by Shahu under Baji Rao in the years 1725-26 in the Carnatic opened his eyes to the new danger. It was an act of perjury and deliberate attempt to deprive him of the country west and south of Aurangabad which Shahu wanted to distribute among his feudatories.

During the course of their invasion of Carnatic the Marathas had collected Chauth, and made it sure that future payment would be made regularly by punishing those who opposed them.[2] Nizamul Mulk ordered Iwaz Khan to prevent them from molesting the poor peasantry, and chastise them ruthlessly. They suffered heavy losses and retreated back to their homeland.[3]

Unable to curb them by force, he had recourse to diplomacy. Raja Shahu's authority was not acknowledged by his own family members, and his excessive favour for Baji Rao had driven many officials into open revolt. They went to the side of Nizamul Mulk and induced him to espouse the cause of Sambahiji of Kolapur, Shahu's rival to the throne, Chandrasen Jadv and Rao Nimbalkar already in his camp, Udaiji Chauan, Kanbaji Bhosle and Sar-Lashkar Sultanji Ninubalkar, also joined him when Sambahiji himself fled to

---

1. Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya. Vol.III.p.497.
2. Asaf Jah 1. p. 184.
3. Rajwade, Vol.VIII. Nos. 94.96.
   Ahwal.f. 199(a).
   Hadiqat-ul-Alam.p.139.

to his court in October, 1726.[1]

The confederates now concerted measures to invade Satara and install Sambhaji on Shivaji's throne. With a grand army the Nizam started in November, 1727 towards Maharastra.[2] But he was out manoveured and exhausted by the guerilla tactics of Baji Rao who avoiding pitched battles overran Baispur, Aurangabad, Jalna and Sindhked districts, and then crossing Tapti proceeded through eastern Gujrat in January,1728, to Aimoban.[3] Nizamul Mulk encumbered with his heavy artillery and mail-clad cavalry could not keep pace with the Marathas, and, he wisely "turned rein from the pursuit and sent his face towards Poona,"[4] which he entered without encountering resistance and proclaimed Sambhaji as sovereign of the Maratha kingdom.[5] Raja Shahu and Chimaji, Peshwa's brother and agent in the court, took refuge in the fort of Purandar. When Baji Rao learnt of this disaster, he at once swooped down on Aurangabad, compelling Nizamul Mulk to quit Poona. Leaving his baggage in Ahmednagar on 22nd February, 1728, the Nizam by the Kasar Bari route proceeded to face Baji Rao.[6] At Palkhed about 20 miles west of Aurangabad an indecisive conflict was fought, in which Nizamul Mulk agreed to withdraw his protection from Sambhaji and allow Maratha officers to collect Chauth in the

---

1. Rajwade, Vol.8.Nos.94.96.
   Ahwal f. 199(a).
   Hadiqat. p.139.
2. S.P.D.XXX.p.282.
   Ahwal. f. 199(a).
3. S.P.D.XXX.p.282.
4. Hadiqat. p.139.
5. S.P.D. X.50.
6. S.P.D.XXX.pp. 282-83.
   Ahwal. f. 199(a).
   Hadiqat.p. 140.

six Subas of the Deccan.[1]

The treaty signed at Mughi Shevgaon between Nizamul Mulk and Baji Rao formed a new basis of their relations. The Nizam's ~~abortive~~ attempts to thwart Maratha expansion had been abortive. Baji Rao's position was strengthened and Sambhaji was ruined. His grief at this mortification was profound. Muhammad Qasim Aurahgabadi writes that for some days he gave up taking meals.[2] Though smarting under a sense of humiliating failure he was anxious to preserve the integrity and independenc of his kingdom.

With this view he had concluded alliance with Raja Shahu by recognising his right to Chauth and Sardeshmukhi as embodied in the Imperial grants. But the Maratha warlords, finding the Mughul Empire an easy prey, were already well along on the road to militant imperialism. Baji Rao was the symbol of the expansionist movement. Big concessions wrested from Nizamul Mulk had not satisfied his ambition. He was dreaming to bring the whole of the sub-continent under his sway.[3] His insistence on collecting money through Maratha officials implied indirect control over Nizam's territories. The dual system had led to administrative chaos, and distress of the peasantry.

---

1. S.P.D.pp.90-91.
   Ahwal.f. 199(a).
   Hadiqat.p.140.
2. Ahwal.f.199.
3. "The Peshwa is reported to have addressed Raja Shahu in these words: "Now is our time to drive strangers from the land of Hindus, and to require immortal renown. By directing our efforts to Hindustan, the Maratha flag in your reign shall fly from the Krishna to Attock." Grant Duff. p. 396. Vol.II.

Nizamul Mulk desisted the system and its author, and wanted to free himself from both. He regarded Baji Rao inordinately arrogant, extremely ambitious, and most untrustworthy leader in the whole of Maharashtra. Though his prestige was markedly reduced after Palkhad, Nizamul Mulk continued his efforts to oust the Peshwa from the power he enjoyed. For this purpose he intrigued with Trimback Rao Dabhade and other Maratha chiefs.[1] But Peshwa's alertness made it difficult to make an effective concerted action. In an engagement fought near Dabhoi on 12th April, 1731, Dabhade was defeated and slain by the Peshwa.[2] The outcome of the war terminated internal rebellion and all hopes of Nizam he had centred in the fall of the Peshwa.

His Secret Pact With the Peshwa.

In his dealings with the Marathas as well as the transaction of domestic business Asaf Jah had been acting independentl of the Emperor. He had fought, conciliated and entered into alliance with them, and granted to his officers ranks, titles and honours, without seeking the permission of the Central Government. Since the battle of Sakharkhedla 1724 he had deposited no money out of the revenues of his provinces in the Imperial treasury. He exercised full powers in regard to appointments and dismissals of government employees. Inspite of this he had shown a subject's deference to Muhammad Shah.

---

1. S.P.D. X. Nos.59-73.
2. S.P.D. X. p. 67.

He never assumed royalty and styled himself as King nor used the imperial umbrella. Khutba was continued to be read and coins struck in the Emperor's name. He also kept the Emperor informed of his designs and activities against Marathas, although he did not seek his permission in these matters.

By throwing the weight of his influence into the Imperial scale, Nizam was sincerely desirious of paralysing the overwhelming power of the Marathas and prevent the fall of a declining Empire. He knew that his interests were indentical with those of the Emperor; with the fall of the trunk of the withering tree he would meet the fate of the falling branches. But the crafty politician was not insensible to the mortal danger in the case he was put off guard while entangled in clash with the Marathas. He had no willingness to step down into the arena of a bloody war without being assisted by the central government.[1] His policy was directed almost exclusively towards the security of his possessions.

In his letters to Muhammad Shah he invariably referred to the conditions in Malwa and Gujrat, warned him of the seething tide of Maratha invasions, and requested assistance in men and money to ward off the danger. His hold over Deccan demanded the destruction of Marathas, and any step in that direction required immense treasury[2] and vast army. If one Karor of rupees as subsidy, fifty lakhs from jagirs in Hindustan for official salaries, and revenues of Surat for the Deccan government expenses, were granted to him, he was ready to

---

1. Mosvi Khan. f. 144(b).
2. Ibid. f. (49)(a).

undertake expeditions against the enemies.[1] Another important suggestion he made in one of his letters to Muhammad Shah was that nobles and Rajas should come to close quarters with the invaders in central India, while he, if supported, would advance northward, and effect junction with Imperial armies.[2]

Unfortunately his proposals were unheeded by the Emperor. Muhammad Shah still believed Nizamul Mulk to be root cause of all political troubles in the regions; he still feared that he might not bring new revolution in the Empire. He compared these demands with the proposal of helping the Persian monarch against Afghans Nizamul Mulk had made eight years before in Delhi and concluded that he was bent upon dethroning him.

Muhammad Khan Bangash was appointed governor of Gujrat to make yet another desperate attempt to prevent an out-right annexation of the province by the Marathas.[3] But he had to face tremendous difficulties in the execution of his taks. Lack of money,[4] non-cooperation of local Rajput Princes,[5] and lack of help from the centre[6] rendered his case hopless. He well understood the consequences of his failure specially when Samsan-ud-Daulah was watching every opportunity for poisioning the Emperor's ears against him. The fears of

---

1. f.49(b), 53(a). The revenues of Surat were at the disposal of the governor in Deccan in the days of Alamgir, and the rule was exercised in the reign of Farrukh Siyar, at this time no money comes from that direction.
2. 145(a) Minshat Mosvi Khan.
3. Khajista Kalam (Arazdasht No.7,f.10).
4. Ibid. (Arazdasht No.9.f.12(a).
5. Ibid. No.12.f.36(b).
6. Ashob. p. 178.

dismissal and disgrace compelled him to fix his eyes on Nizamul Mulk with whom he was for long in correspondence before his appointment as Subedar of Malwa. Muhammad Khan had great regards for him, and called him the only defender of Islam in that age. He wrote to him that if no effective curb was put on Maratha army leaders, all bonds between north and south would bread down.[1]

Nizamul Mulk on the other side was repeatedly writing to Muhammad Khan to meet him on the bank of Narmada.[2] He was at that time looking forward to the fall of Baji Rao in his tussle with Dabhade. He found it expedient to utilize the support of Muhammad Khan for the success of Dabhade with whom he was in league. The meeting between the nobles took place near the Akbarpur farry on the Narmada about 17th March, 1731, and for twelve days they remained together. Presents were exchanged and discussions made in a most cordial atmosphere. No information is available as to what was decided between them except that Nizam persuaded Muhammad Khan to help the Peshwa's rivals.[3] It can safely be inferred that Nizamul Mulk must have explained his policy that the overthrow of Peshwa should precede the general destriction of his nation. Muhammad Khan, who had come with the avowed object of securing his aid in driving them out of his province Malwa, seems to have been outwitted by him. He not only failed in his mission but had to pay the price of befriending the rebel.

The rumours that Muhammad Khan had been secretly instructed

---

1. Khajista Kalam.Letter to Nizamul Mulk No.12.f.36(b).
2. Ibid. Arazdasht . No.4.f.8(a).
3. Ahwal. f. 200(a).

by Muhammad Shah to launch a compaign against Nizamul Mulk as soon as he was free from dealing with the Marathas were now confirmed by his dismissal on the charge of treachery.[1] Nizamul Mulk now decided to pursue the policy of self-defence rather than to try to save the Mughul Empire from inevitable dissolution Muhammad Qasim Aurangabadi writes " God knows that I can destroy the race of these wretched people, root and branch, and wipe out all signs of their existence within one year, only if I am satisfied from the side of the Emperor. But what can be done? The earth is hard, and sky far off. When the Emperor himself is not serious in state business, what his subordinates can accomplish." The Emperor being illdisposed towards him he could not deal with two enemies at one time, he now tried to conciliate the Marathas. In the words of the writer," If your friend is bent upon taking your life, you should be friend with his enemy."[2]

On the invitation of Nizamul Mulk, Baji Rao came to meet him and discuss terms of friendship with him.[3] The two met on Wednesday, 27th December, 1732,at Rohe-Rameshwar in the neighbourhood of Alus, about 8 miles north of Latur. The Nizam presented Baji Rao 7 dresses, two beautiful pairs of costly pearls, two horses and one elephant.[4] The outcome of this momentou meeting was a treaty according to which "Maratha Government promised to leave the Deccan unmolested and to levy nothing beyond Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from them, while the Nizam agreed to remain neutral during the projected Marathas invasions of

---

1. Ahwal.f.200(a).
2. Ibid. f.199(b).
3. S.P.D. Vol.15. p.94.
4. Ibid.

Hindustan provided they did not injure the province Khandesh in their northward march through it.[1]

Hyderabad was no longer a bulwark against the Marathas, but a buffer state and a prime factor in the Marathas expansion in the north. By changing the course of Maratha floods from the south to north, Nizamul Mulk could now promote the well being of his subjects. For about six years Hyderabad enjoyed peace and prosperity till he was recalled to the court in 1738.

During this period too he did not sever his relations with the Emperor. There was nothing to prevent him from becoming King of his territories, but he always repudiated such suggestion if some one made to him. " May throne and umbrella bring good fortune to him who holds them. My business is to preserve my honour, and if this be mine what need have I of an Imperioal throne."

---

1. S.P.D. XXX.No.90-91.
   Elphinston. p. 687.
   Grant Duff. p. 416.

CHAPTER V

EXPANSION OF MARATHA POWER.

The imperial grant of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi was a great triumph for Balaji Vishvanath. It was a formal recognition of Raja Shahu's claims to leadership against his rival, Sambhaji II, who had recently sustained defeat at Warána near Wadgaon in 1719. It raised his status and established his position in Maharashtra. The Peshwa had by his diplomatic skill, integrity and courage, secured for Shahu the alliance of of two powerful ministers (the Saiyids brothers) at the imperial court, the cooperation of several Maratha chiefs, the financial help of bankers and the service of a strong army. " He succeeded in cutting a new path out of a vicious circle of civil war and stagnation."[1]

But the circumstances under which the Emperor had been forced to issue the Farman to this effect had changed. Nizamul Mulk was most hostile to the Marathas, and after the fall of the Saiyid brothers, resolved to nullify the grants which had been obtained under duress, and therefore had no legal validity. The grants were moreover a direct challenge to his authority in the Deccan and their mutual and family struggle were a source of constant threat to the peace of the land.

Baji Rao, who succeeded his father as Peshwa on 17th April, 1720, was, on the otherhand, determined not only to weaken the power of Nizamul Mulk but bring Gujrat and Malva under his sway. Ambitious and shrewd, Baji Rao "united the

---

1. Sardesai - p. 62, Vol. I.

enterprise, vigor and hardihood of a Maratha chief with the polished manners, the sagacity and address which frequently distinguished the Brahmins of the Concon."[1] He well realised that Mughal power was slowly crumbling away and if he could strike against it he would have the support of the people, and the internal troubles would be terminated by diverting the attention of local army leaders and leading them on the path of glory.

According to Dr.Raghubir Singh, the main cause of Maratha invasion of Malva was economic. " The Peshwa was deep in debt, and he wanted money to pay it off. It was not possible for him to realise huge sums at home or in the Deccan, because the Nizam would not allow further encroachments on his own territories. Thus, the provinces of the Mughal Empire appeared to be the only places whence money could be forthcoming. Gujrat and Malwa were nearest to the Deccan, butthe former had been dominated by the Maratha general, Debhade, which left Malwa alone to the Peshwa."[2] The Peshwa had put this policy in very clear terms. He wrote to Chimaji when he left Poona to invade Malwa," The sum and substance of the whole thing is to follow a policy by which debts may end, and permanent arrangements be made for the future."[3] After Chimaji's success against Girdhar Bahadur, Baji Rao wrote to his brother, " Go roaming about wherever you like, but bring money somehow or the other."[4]

---

1. Grant Duff. P.393, Vol.1.
2. Malwa in Transition, P. 188.
3. S.P.D., XIII, 14.
4. S.P.D., XIII, 29.

Even after establishing their hold in Malwa, the Peshwa was not keen to keep it under his control and administer it directly. Thus economic pressure and domestic troubles made the Maratha leader to look elsewhere for the solution of problems with which the Poona State was now confronted. "Such a policy could not be consistent with the idea of establishing Hindu-Pad-Padshahi, nor could it be expected of men leading a holy war against the Muslim powers."[1] The later conflict of the Marathas with the Rajputs, their raids against noh-muslim population, the devastation and massacre accompanying them, militate against such an ideal.

Gujrat.

This province had long been subject to the ravages of Maratha military adventurers. The deadly civil contests between Hamid Ali Khan and Shujaat Ali Khan had resulted in the armed intervention of the Marathas who spread over the land and perpetrated wanton cruelities. Towns and villages were harried and burnt, their inhabitants slain or driven away.[2] The Emperor appointed Sarbuland Khan as the new governor of Gujrat and declared that he would himself march against the enemies.[3] One Karor of rupees as subsidy was granted and the Rajput chiefs and the Saiyids of Barha were ordered to assist the governor in the forthcoming campaign.[4] But neither the Emperor came out, nor was the money paid in full as had been promised.

---

1. Malwa in Transition p.193.
2. Mirat-i-Ahmedi, Part II, p. 78.
3. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. f. 333. (a)
4. Mirat-i-Ahmedi pp.79-80.

Sarbuland Khan received only fifty lakhs, and waited to get the balance for 8 or 9 months in the neighbourbood of Delhi. With army of 15 thousand horse, 15 thousand foot, he, however, started from Delhi and reached Ahmedabad on the 16th December, 1725.[1]

Raja Shahu, in persuance of the expansionist policy, had divided the spheres of influence among his principal officers. Malwa was assigned to Peshwa Baji Roa and Gujrat to Senapati Debhade. But the Peshwa, jealous of the growing power of the Senapati, his rival, attempted to execute an ardous undertaking of establishing his foothold in Gujrat. Their mutual dissensions culminated in armed struggle which dragged on for four years, 1726-30. Each of them strove to oust the other from the province and at the sametime secure the right of collecting dues from the governor. After 1726 their invasions were aimed not so much against the governor as against each other; their clashes with Sarbuland Khan were intended to compel him to pay Chauth. If one succeeded in receiving grants of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, the other would invade the province, spread destruction in every direction, and ultimately force the governor to yield to his demands. The confused state of affairs continued till the Senapati was crushed by the Peshwa.

Sarbuland Khan had neither the firmness of mind nor the diplomatic skill to play off the Maratha chiefs against each other. Inspite of his resources in men and money, his operations were ineffective against the gurilla tactics of the Marathas. In the cold weather of 1727-28 he was visited by

---

1. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. f. 333(a); f. 349(a)

the Senapati's agents and the disputes connected with the Chauth were settled.[1] About the sametime the province was invaded by the Peshwa himself. Again, in 1729 the province was invaded by Chimaji Appa with a picked force on behalf of Peshwa.[2] The governor in his eagerness to save the imperial authority from total collapse and establish a stable peace in Gujrat, agreed to conclude peace with the agents of the Peshwa on 23rd March, 1730. These terms were as follows:-[3]

1. Sardeshmukhi or ten percent of the whole revenue both from land and customs dues with the exception of the fort of Surat and the district around it, and the Chauth or one fourth of the whole collections on the land and customs, excepting Surat and five percent on the revenue of the city of Ahmedabad, were granted to the Peshwa.
2. It was stipulated in the deeds that for these cessians the Peshwa was to maintain 2,500 horse for keeping peace in the province.
3. No more than two or three persons were to be placed in each district to collect the Maratha dues.
4. No extra demands whatever were to be made from the ryots, and every assistance was to be given to maintain Imperial authority. The Peshwa was bound on the part of Shahu Raja to prevent Maratha subjects from siding with or in any way supporting disaffected zamindars or other disturbers of public peace in the Mughal dominion.

The treaty of March 1730 was a heavy blow to the prestige

---

1. Mirat-i-Ahmedi, p. 102.
2. S.P.D. XXX, p. 282.
   S.P.D. XXX, pp. 295-96.
3. S.P.D. XV. pp. 82-84, 86.

and fortune of Trimbak Rao Dabhade who had succeeded his father in the office of Senapati in January, 1730, on his death in September, 1729. The young commander of the Raja's forces first appealed to the Raja to redress his grievances. Seeing no hope from this quarter he took recourse to the sword, but was killed in battle on Ist April, 1731.[1] With his fall, the Peshwa became dominant in the affairs of Gujrat.

From the very outset Sarbuland Khan was anxious to secure money by all means. Despite the monetary help given by the centre he was in desperate need of money. He led punitive expeditions from time to time into Wadhwa, Islamnagar, Mandu and even into Kutch.[1] Even individuals were forced to pay money under threats of being insulted in public. The bankers and gold merchants of Ahmedabad paid him five lakhs of rupees.[2] He imposed taxes on the trading community of Bohras, who were driven by his measures into an abortive revolt. They had risen to a man to oppose his orders, but the governor was able with the help of the army to impose a fine.[3] The revenues from Bharoch amounting to fifty thousand of rupees were seized. He had occupied and turned to his own use, all the parganas assigned in Jagir to nobles and Courtiers at Delhi. When complaints were made to the Emperor, he deprived him of his Jagirs

---

1. The zamindar of Wadnagar paid him three lakhs of rupees as a fine for his resistance, and again in 1721 one lakh more besides the fixed dues. The Jam of Islamnagar gave him three lakhs of rupees. Lal, a zamindar of Mandu paid him 20 lakhs of rupees, and he secured from Puhandar and Chhaya 125,000 rupees. MiratiAhmedi, pp. 94,98,99,111-112.
2. Khushal Chand, a rich merchant and Nagar Seth, was replaced by Ganga Das, and imprisoned. Under threat that he would be paraded through the streets of the town with ignominy, 60 thousand of rupees were taken from him. Mirat-i-Ahmedi, p. 92. M.H.f.449(a)
3. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq, f. 374(b)
   Mirat-i-Ahmedi, pp.113-116.

in the Punjab and parcelled the same amongst those who had suffered at his hands.[1] Inspite of all this vast sum of money he had thus accumulated, his army was ever discontented due to the non-payment of their salaries. One day, Khwaja Hashim, a Jamadar, came to him with a drawn sword with the intention of killing him, but Sarbuland Khan also took up his spear and confronted him. His guards, however, softened his anger and took him away from the presence of the governor who also retired. Saiyed Jamal Ali Khan and Saiyed Ali and others officers also pressed the governor for the money. The following verse was on their lips:-

نوکر سربلند بے وطن است زندہ بے نان و مردہ بے کفن است

(The soldier of Sarbuland is far off from his home; Alive, he has no bread, dead, he is without a winding sheet).[2] His army was composed of heterogenous elements - Gujratis, Saiyids, Arabs, Mughals and Rajputs - who were always at dagger's drawn, and opposed the people. Added to all these difficulties, the Kolis were creating disturbances. Such was the fears of their night attacks that orders were issued in Surat that no one should go outside the city after sunset.[2]

Muhammad Shah now dismissed him, and on the suggestion of Khan-i-Dauran, Raja Abhay Singh of Jodhpur was appointed governor of Gujrat in 1730. He was granted Rs 18 lakhs and given 50 canon of various sizes, together with a robe of honour and gifts. At the head of 25 thousand soldiers, well trained and

---

1. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq, p. 464(b)

2. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq.ff.458(a), 464(a)

well-equipped, the Maharaj marched from Jodhpur to Ahmedabad. Reaching there he found the dismissed governor fully armed to resist his peaceful entry into the city. A fierce battle followed, in which the two forces suffered heavy losses. Sarbuland Khan, however, left the city, after accepting one lakh of rupees.[1]

The first thing the Raja did was to accept terms of peace offered by the Peshwa. He agreed to pay Rs 13 lakhs in lieu of Chauth, Rs 6 lakhs were paid by the governor atonce and the rest was promised to be paid in parts.[2] Nevertheless, he could not get peace out of this agreement. Ahmedabad was invaded and besieged by the Marathas, and he was so much harassed and put to hardships, that he in the end, agreed to pay Rs 80,000 from the revenues of the city in addition to the Chauth and sardeshmukhi of the province. Raja Abhay Singh, finding any further resistance against Marathas futile, left the province, making Ratan Singh Bhandari as his deputy.[3]

In 1737 Abhay Singh was replaced by Momin Khan as governor of Gujrat. Momin Khan met the same difficulty in taking charge of the provincial government as his two predecessors, Sarbuland Khan and Abhay Singh had faced. Ratan Singh Bhandari refused

---

1. Mirat-i-Ahmedi pp.118-131.
   Warid. pp.690-691.
   Reu. pp. 136-143. (Abhay Singh's letter dealing with his war against Sarbuland Khan). According to it the Raja had received 15 lakhs cash, 40 guns, 200 maunds of gunpowder and 100 maunds of lead.
2. Mirat-i-Ahmedi . p. 134.
3. Ibid. pp. 157-163.

to leave the province without fighting, and the new governor had to call Damaji for aid against him. Momin Khan agreed to cede half of the revenues of the whole province to the Maratha chief as the price of his support. The allied troops laid siege to Ahmadabad and though Bhandari resisted for six months, the capital was occupied by the victors on 26th May, 1737.[1] After that Gujrat remained under the control of the Maratha, and last vestiges of the Mughal rule disappeared with the capture of Ahmadabad in 1753.

Malwa.

The early Maratha incursions during the closing years of Alamgir's reign (1699-1707) were intended to obstruct the free passage of Mughal armies, treasures, and provisions through the province of Malwa.[2] Tarabai, after the death of Raja Ram, in March, 1700, as a regent of her minor son, Shivaji, took vigorous measures for ravaging the imperial territories and sent armies to plunder towns and villages not only in the Deccan but in Malwa as well. But the Marathas, because of the Emperor's vigilance, could not penetrate into the province and gain a footing there. Though Tarabai failed to execute her scheme of expansion, her activities directly contributed to the increase of Maratha raids into Malwa. The Marathas, unmindful of past disappointments, and undaunted by future fears, continued ravaging the province and gathering spoils from towns and villages. The imperialists, however, kept the Marathas at bay, and successfully stopped their expansion northward. Further, Husain Ali Khan's alliance with Raja Shahu saved Malwa from being ruined by their destructive armies

---

1. 1. Mirat-i-Ahmedi. pp.195-197.
2. Aurangzeb. Vol.V.p.382.

for sometime.

But the instability of the imperial government and palace revolutions encouraged the Marathas to once again extend their incursions northwards. The Peshwa had assigned to himself Malwa, prosperous in agriculture, and rich in industry, and a link between the north and the south. If this province was annexed, it would be easier to strike at Ahmedabad in the south, and pierce the heart of the Empire in the north. As it was a paying possession too, enormous collection of dues would flow to the relife of Raja Shabu who was in financial troubles at that time.[1] Baji Rao parcelled out the province among his own confidents and issued orders to generals of Poona to assist them in the collection of dues. The generals marched into Malwa in 1726, and employed themselves in the work of securing money.[2] But they were opposed by Daya Bahadur, governor of Malwa, who ousted them empty handed. Raja Shabu had requested the governor not to interfere in their activities.[3] But the governor did not yield either to pursuasion or the display of force, and when they came next year, they fared no better than previously.[4]

Now the Peshwa resolved to take a more vigorous action against the governor of the province. Early in 1728, a formidable army was equipped by Baji Rao for the invasion of Malwa, and its supreme command was assigned to Chimaji Appa. On 25th November they crossed Narmada and passing through Mandu Ghat

---

1. S.P.D.XIII, 3.
   S.P.D.XXX, p.269.
2. S.P.D.XXX, pp.272-273.
3. S.P.D.XIII, 5.
4. S.P.D.XIII, 6-9, Ajaib, No.180. ff.66(b), 67(a)

reached Nalch on 27th of November.[1] Girdhar Bahadur who first lay encamped near Amjhara set out on November 29, for Dhar suspecting that they might have ascended the hills near Mandu. But before he could reach the place he was overtaken by the Marathas rendering him unable to arrange his forces in battle order. A battle was fought between the two armies, in which both Girdhar Bahadur and Daya Bahadur lost their lives. The Mughal army fled pellmell leaving their whole baggage to be pillaged by the victors.[2] " The effect of this victory was great. The Mughal offinsive ended and the Marathas found Malwa totally defenceless. The moral effect of this defeat was disastrous and the local princes, zamindars and others felt the utter weakness of Mughal rule."[3]

Chimaji, the hero of Amjhera, after three days of battle moved from the place and reached Ujjain in December 19, and tried to capture it by storm. But it was defended by Bhawani Ram, the son of the late governor, who had raised new forces, and gathered sufficient provisions.[4] After a seige of one month and five days, Chimaji, after gaining nothing left the place and halted at Kaliyadab. He had been advised by his brother, Baji Rao, to devote himself to the business of collections in Ujjain and the rest of the province, and confiscate all jagirs

---

1. S.P.D.XXX, 55.
2. S.P.D. XIII, 17,23,25,27.
   S.P.D.XXX, 59, XIII, 25,26.
   Ajaib, Nos. 182,201, ff.3(a), 69(a), 79(b).
3. Malwa in Transition, p. 165.
4. S.P.D. XIII, 51.
   Ajaib, Nos. 182, 184,189, ff.6, 70,71.

of Girdhar Bahadur. According to the instructions, dues were collected and he returned to Poona on 4th May, 1729.[1]

Bhawani Ram faced numerous difficulties. He had no money to pay the salaries of his fresh recruits, and without having considerable army, protection of the province was not possible. The sum of two lakhs of rupees given by the Emperor had been run out. His father's jagirs as promised by the government had not been restored, nor the money was coming from the land, as the zamindars were doubtdul of his position. As a result the army mutinued and attacked him when he was at Kaliyadab, but he succeeded in routing the rebels. Najmuddin Ali Khan, who had been recalled from Gurjat and sent to Malwa to support Bhawani Ram by the government, could not pull on with the governor and attempted to oust him, though he failed in his aim.[2] Under these conditions the work of defence could not be executed properly. On charges of inefficiency, Muhammad Shah dismissed him, and appointed Raja Jai Singh as the new governor in November, 1729. Raj Jai Singh was given Rs 13 lakhs for the maintenance of his army.[3]

Just after his arrival in Malwa, he had to fight the Marathas who had captured Mandu in the last week of November, 1729. But peace was made and Mandu was handed back to the Raja.[4] The Emperor now thought of making peace with the Marathas, and instructed Raja Jai Singh to open negotiation. The Raja sent

---

1. S.P.D. XIII, 30.
   S.P.D. XXX, P.284,XXX, pp.285-7.
   Ajaib - ff. 3(a), 69(b), 71(a), 71(b),77(b),81(b),70(b).
2. Ajaib, Nos.185,191,203,ff.70(a),73,80(b),6(b)-8(a)
3. Malwa in Transition.pp.177-178.
4. S.P.D., XXXI, p.31.

Dip Singh as his envoy to the Court of Raja Shahu to discuss the terms. Dipt Singh promised a subsidy of Rs 11 laksh a year for Malwa if Narmada was not crossed by the Marathas. But before the agreement could be ratified, Raja Jai Singh was, replaced by Muhammad Khan Bangash in September, 1730.

He was promised an advance of Rs 60 lakhs, and an army of 8,200 horse and 2,500 foot was placed at his disposal.[1] On January 15, 1731, Muhammad Khan reached the neighbourhood of Sarangpur, fifty two miles north-east of Ujjain, but before the imperial forces could enter the town, they were overtaken by Malhar Rao Holkar and Anand Rao Pawar. The Marathas, nevertheless, soon fled like crows on seeing a bow.[2] In October, 1731, huge herdes of Marathas aggregating to one lakh horse, under Chimaji and Holkar invaded Malwa. The governor, finding himself in a perilous position, made peace with the invaders by sending presents to their leaders. The Marathas returned to the south.[3] From the very outset Muhammad Khan had to face a difficult situation. He had exhausted all his means to meet the requirements of the campaign against the Marathas and local zamindars. Unrest had arisen in the army due to the non-payment of the salaries. Inspite of his repeated requests to the Court, no assistence was given to him.[4] What he got at last was a letter of dismissal. There were three distinct causes of his disgrace. First, " The complaints

---

1. Khjista-i-Kalam - letter to Nizamul Mulk - letter No.10, f.34(a).
2. Ibid. Letter to Samsanud Daulah - Letter No.1,f.40(a)
3. Ibid. Letter to Zafar Khan Rustam Jang, Letter No.1.ff.48-49.
4. Ibid. f.41(a)

of the jagirdars in Malwa, persons who were influential in the palace, secondly, the attack on Chattar Singh of Narwar who was the protege of the eunuch Khidmatgar Khan and others, and thirdly, the friendship which had sprung up between the governor and Nizamul Mulk."[1]

On September 28, 1732, the Emperor appointed Swai Jai Singh as the governor of Malwa.[2] He started from Jaipur on October 20, and reached Ujjain in December. When he was at Mandsaur in February, 1733, Holkar and Sindhia surrounded him, and intercepted all supplies of food, fodder and water. Having neither the will nor the strength to fight, the Raja sued for peace and offered 6 lakhs of rupees, but Holkar demanded more. As a result, a severe engagement ensued in which both suffered losses, but in the end Jai Singh was forced to make peace with the raiders. He promised to pay Rs 6 lakhs in cash, and to cede 28 parganas in lieu of Chauth. After this defeat he left for Jaipur, and never took serious notice of the coming doom of the province.[3]

Raja Jai Singh had assumed cold neutrality and instigated the Marathas to invade Malwa. Muhammad Shah could not dismiss him lest he might incur the displeasure of Khan-i-Dauran, his foremost friend at the Court.[4] Recently the corrupt clique of Kokiji, after holding mastery over the Emperor's mind and thereby controlling the affairs of the Government for thirteen years, had been extirpated due to their

---

1. Irvine - p.255 (Vol II).
2. Khajist-i-Klam - Letter to Qaim Khan, f.53(a).
3. S.P.D.XIV, 207, XV,6, XXX,pp.310-11.
4. Warid. p. 680.

own folly and sordidness. Samsa-ud-Daulah had now become the Emperor's evil genius. As a leader of Indian party, opposed to that of the Turanis, Samsm-ud-Daulah sought alliance with Raja Jai Singh, who was trying to carve out an independent kingdom for himself.[1] The shrewd Raja found in the Amirul Umra a fit person to push his interest at the Court, while at the same time, he befriended the Marathas. He thought that on account of his alliance with Baji Rao, the Marathas would not disturb him in the execution of his grand scheme. He convinced Khan-i-Dauran that the Maratha aggression could not be resisted by force, it would be better to buy them off and leave the work of restoring peace and order in Agra and Malwa into his hands. The Amirul-Umra desired friendship of Raja Jai Singh, the most influential and powerful of the Rajput chiefs to counterpoise against the Mughals, and prevent the Emperor from inclining twoards them for consultation and support. Destitute in quantities of statesmanship and military ardour, organisation and resourcefulness, he began to play into the hands of the Raja, who secured through him high offices and enormous riches, which he spend in bribing the Marathas and increase his strength. On the suggestion of the Raja, Samsam-ud-Daulah advocated policy of friendship with the aggressors. This desire for a policy of conciliation was not inspired by national interest, but was due to his ease-loving and slothful nature and jealousy of other Mughal officers who might overshadow his influence. " It was Raja Jai Singh who had persuaded Baji Rao to attack Girdhar Bahadur and

---

1. Ashob. p. 137.

when the faithful governor died fighting in the Emperor's service, he wrote to Nand Lal Mandoli who "had rendered hearty assistance" to Chimaji, " You have defended our religion in Malwa, and crushed the Muslmans, establishing Dharma. You have fulfilled my desire."[1] The contemporary writers have severely condomned the disloyalty of these officers.[2] Warid bitterly wrote that in the past one hundred Hindustani soldiers were sufficient to beat two thousand Marathas. Their women and children, fearful of the Indian army, did not pass one night at one place, always wandering from one place to the other in dismay. But now the tide has turned and things have changed. The Emperor confined himself in the fort which he thought to be a safe refuge from all dangers. Whenever reports of Maratha incursions in Malwa and Gujrat were communicated to the Emperor, he would forthwith visit the gardens or go out hunting inorder to forget the paralysing fear. The only Turani leader of some influence was Qamruddin Khan Itmadu-u-Daulah, the Wazir, and the son of the late Muhammad Amin Khan. He was, however, steeped in debauch. He loved peaceful life and shunned all serious business. He

---

1.

2. Shah-Namah-i-Deccan.
Warid gives the following account of Raja Jai Singh's inactivity and negligence." For 12 years he had been governor of Agra.. and for 4 or 5 years governor of Malwa. From the gates of Delhi to the banks of Narmada he was in supreme authority. But inspite of all the disorder around him, the Raja supported by the court influence of Samsam-ud-Daulah, sat calmly and did nothing, though he possessed an army of 30,000 horses, and a still larger number of matchlockmen. Several times in in previous years the Raja had received from Muhammad Shah large sums, as much as thirty lakhs or twenty lakhs, it is said, for payment to the Marathas. Half would be paid to them and half retained by the Raja; the Marathas then went home and Jai Singh returned to his own state. After two or three years of this procedure, the Marathas began to expect their 'breakfast'and every time grew more speedier and avaricious." Warid.pp.680-81.(Irvine p.278.Vol.II.)

never exerted himself, never thought of improving the condition of the government, nor, like his intriguing father, did he form cliques to dominate others, although he favoured and supported the Mughals.

Muhammad Shah now decided to send another expedition against the Marathas. It was proposed that the Wazir, Saadat Khan and Muhammad Khan Bangash should march into Malwa against the Marathas. Muhammad Khan Bangash exerted himself in the province but was forced to sue for peace. The Wazir who had gone to Bundelkhand fought on February 3, 1736, a pitched battle with the Marathas and defeated them. Khan-i-Dauran and Raja Jai Singh again showed criminal negligence in facing the Marathas. They entrenched themselves at the Toda Tank and suffered a blockade by Holkar and other Maratha leaders.[1]

On the invitation of Raja Jai Singh, the Peshwa left Deccan in October, 1735.[2] Passing through Malwa and subduing several places, he reached Udaipur,[3] where the Rana received him with great ceremony. He promised to pay a tribute of one and a half lakh of rupees, but refused to cede any part of his country.[4] Meanwhile the Raja of Jaipur, had sent his Diwan, Ayamal, with cash, jewellery, horses and one elephant valued at five lakhs of rupees, and invited the Peshwa to come to Jaipur. On 4th March, the Peshwa met Raja Jai Singh, and discussed terms of peace with Wijahat Ali Khan, sent by Khan-i-Dauran for this purpose. Raja Jai Singh proposed a grant of 20 lakhs in cash,

---

1. Ashob. p. 194.
2. S.P.D.XXIX, 39.
3. S.P.D.XIV, 42.
4. Sarkar. p. 141, Vol.I.

and a jagir of 40 lakhs in Malwa, which might be assigned on the principality of Dost Muhammad Khan.[1]

The Peshwa offered to the Raja his own terms:-

1. "The grants of the Subedari of Malwa and that of its entire territories, excluding the parts held directly by the Emperor, the lands of jagirs and grants of rent free lands and daily allowances.
2. A cash payment of Rs 13 lakhs for his expenses of war to be paid in three instalments. Rs 5 lakhs when Pilaji goes to the Court to settle the peace treaty; Rs 5 lakhs after the autumn harvest; Rs 4 lakhs after the spring harvest.
3. The Nagar of 6 lakhs of rupees to the Emperor in return for the grant of Sardeshpandai rights in the 6 Subahs, to be paid only after the country is brought under control."

These terms were presented by Wijahat Ali Khan and Yadgar Kashmiri before the Emperor, who granted them, and appointed Baji Rao the deputy governor of Malwa on May 1736. The Peshwa who was waiting the result of the negotiations at Sironj left Malwa for the South.[2] On September 29, 1736, Muhammad Shah issued an imperial Farman by which Baji Rao was honoured with a Jagir, a mansab of 7 thousand, the Mahals of his Waton and right to perquisities, robes of honour and jewellery, while his brother Chimaji was made a Mansabdar of 5 thousand. He was asked to come to Delhi and take his Rs 15 lakhs.[3]

This supine policy exposed the Emperor's weakness and

---

1. S.P.D.XIV, 50-51,56.
2. S.P.D.XV, p.93. Sarkar. p. 153,Vol.I.
   Irvine, pp.284-85.
3. Malwa in Transition p. 245.
   S.P.D.XV.pp.86,88,89.
   S.P.D.XIV.62.

enhanced the presumptuousness of Baji Rao. He came to Malwa during the rains of 1736, and sent a new list of his demands. He claimed:-

1. " That the governorship of the Province of Malwa, with all the states connected with it, to be given as jagir to the Peshwa.
2. Expulsuion of Yar Muhammad Khan and Izzat Khan from their estate with the aid of the Imperial forces and the grant of their principalities to Baji Rao.
3. A jagir of 50 lakhs a year in the six Deccan subahs to the Peshwa. These subahs should be transferred in the name of the Emperor's son and Baji Rao be asked to act for the absentee governor. Half of the dues collected by Baji Rao in the Deccan, for the Emperor, to be granted to Baji Rao.
4. The kingdom of Tanjori be given to Raja Shahu.
5. Grant of forts of Mandu, Dhar and Raisin in Malwa to Peshwa for keeping his family in them.
6. All the territories of the Chambal to be given to the Peshwa in jagir on the explicit term that various rules of the various states within that area would not be harassed, if they submitted and paid their tributes.
7. A sum of Rs 15 lakhs to be paid immediately from the Bengal treasury to help the Peshwa to pay off some of his huge debts.
8. The holy places of Prayag, Benares, Gaya and Mathura to be given in jagir to the Peshwa.
9. All the arrangeements in the Deccan to be made through the Peshwa.
10. Baji Rao agreed to go to Agra, whence he should be con-

conducted by Jai Singh and Munir Khan and presented to the Emperor during a ride. Soon after he should be given leave to return home.[1]

These extraordinary demands were refused by the Emperor who again decided to renew hostilities. When the demands of the Peshwa were rejected by the Emperor, another formidable attack on northern India was planned by the Poona Court. Raja Jai Singh informed the Peshwa that without some extreme action the the Imperial Court would not accept his new demands. Baji Rao, fearing no resistance in Malwa and Bundelkhand, and realisi utter unfitness of the Imperial forces and their generals, resolved to invade the heart of the Empire with his huge armies. At the head of fifty thousand horse, he left Poona on 12th November, 1736, crossed Narmada, penetrating through Malwa, descended on Bhopal and received five lakhs of rupees from Yar Muhammad Khan. Thence he boldly marched into Bundelkhand, and reduced the zamindars of that region.[2]

The Emperor directed the Wazir and Mir Bakshi to march against the enemy. Raja Jai Singh and Raja Abhay Singh in response to the Emperor's orders, marched out from their respecti headquarters, and Saadat Khan also hastened towards Agra inorder to effect junction with them. The Peshwa remained calm and inorder to prevent this junction of Imperial forces, he sent his principal officers to range the land across the Jumna.[3]

---

1. S.P.D.XXII, 339, 341.
2. S.P.D.XXX, 192, XV, 93.
3. S.P.D.XV, 47.

The Marathas swooped down on Shikohabad, exacted 1,50,000 rupees as tribute from Lal Jiu Khatri and reduced Firozabad and Itamadpur. Their progress was, however, arrested by Burhan-ul-Mulk and his nephew Mansur Ali Khan, who had reached there with a force of fifty thousand horse. On 23rd March, 1737, they routed and inflicted on Marathas heavy loss of life. Saadat Khan resumed his march westward to join Samsam-ud-Daulah who had arrived at Mathura with 25,000 horsemen, artillery and numerous elephants. Muhammad Khan Bangash, was also there with a contingent of about 12 thousand men.[1] Saadat Khan celebrated his recent triumph there and was complemented by the Emperor. Baji Rao inorder to revive the morale of his army decided in his own words " to teach the Emperor a wholesome lesson by letting him know that Holkar and (Vithoji) Bule were still alive Two ways "wrote he" were open to me, to attack Saadat Khan and destroy him; or fall upon Delhi itself and burn its outlying parts. But Saadat Khan would not venture out from Agra. So I took the latter course.[2] Sending his heavy baggage into Bundelkh and avoiding the Delhi Agra road, where he feared he would be overtaken by the imperial forces, passed through the unfamiliar country of the Jats and the Mewatis, and covering ten days journey in two days and nights, he appeared at the gates of Delhi on 28th March, 1737. The imperial troops, under Mir Hasan, advanced against the enemy and defeated them. When the Mughals pursued the Marathas, their leaders Hokdar and Jadhav encircled the pursuers and routed them with heavy loss of life. The Peshwa hearing the approach of Qamruddin Khan left the

---

1. Tarikh-i-Hind. p. 538.
2. B.S.C. letter No.27.

left the city at midnight. At Badshapur he, however, had to face the Wazir's force. In an indecisive encounter the Maratha were defeated and put to flight but they were not pursued.

After that no effort was made to drive out the Marathas from Malwa. It was only in the year 1737, that Nizamul Mulk, after joining the central service, launched an offensive against the enemy.[1] He was given one Karor of rupees for the army. About the middle of December, Nizamul Mulk, with 70 thousand horse, 180 canon drawn by elephants, and 3,000 camels carrying rockets and other equipment arrived near Bhopal.[2] The Peshwa also reached there with 80,000 horsemen, while Chimaji Appa took up a position on the Tapti with ten thousand horse.[3]

The Nawab, instead of attacking the Marathas, entrenched himself in the neighbourhood of the fort with a tank in his rear and a rivulet in his front and prepared to defend himself against the Marathas.[4] This was a tactical mistake; the Marathas assumed the offensive. The Marathas surrounded the imperial camp, stopped all supplied of food and fodder coming in and reduced the imperialists to great straits. Nizamul Mulk, opened negotiations through his agent Anand Rao Sumant with the Peshwa on December 24, 1737. While discussions were going on between the representatives of two parties, Nizamul Mulk moved out and with his artillery he succeeded in entering the fort of Bhopal only to be besiged again by them.[5] The condition of the garrison

---

1. Ahwal. f. 245.
   Ashob. pp. 220-221.
   Hadiqat. p. 145.
   S.P.D.XIV, 45, XV, 93, 40, 42, 44,48,60.
2. S.P.D. XV, 56-57.
3. S.P.D.XXX, 207, XV,59.
4. S.P.D.XV.XXX,207.
5. Irvine. p. 303.

grew desperate as time passed on. Neither Muhammad Shah answered his appeals for help, nor did Nasir Jung come out. Nizamul Mulk sent Ayamal of Jaipur, Said Lashkar Khan and Anwarullah Khan to the Maratha camp and on January 6, 1738, Nizamul Mulk accepted the following terms:-

1. " Grant of the whole of Malwa to the Peshwa.
2. Grant of complete soverignty of the territories between the Narmada and the Chambal.
3. A promise by the Nizam to obtain confirmation of this peace from the Emperor.
4. A promise to use his best endeavour to get a sum of 50 lakhs from the Emperor to pay for Baji Rao's expenses.

Nizamul Mulk reached Delhi ingloriously in April, 1737.[1]

"The victory of Bhopal marks the zenith of the Peshwa's career. He accomplished the conquest of Malwa.... and announced the birth of the new imperial power."[2]

Bundelkhand.

Chattar Sal, son of Champat, was a soldier of fortune. Following the example of his father and inspired by Shivaji, he raised the standard of revolt in the reign of Alamgir, and persisted in that rebellious conduct upto his death. He defeated several government officials sent against him. Alamgir's long absence in the south weakened the royal authority in the north providing opportunities to local chiefs to increase their power. In the 40th year of his reign he joined the imperial service, but after four years abondoned it and left Deccan for his home. In the next year (1707) Nawab Firoz Jung obtained his reinstatement with the rank of 4,000. He retunred home

---

1. S.P.D.XV, 66.
2. Dighe. p. 149.

and on the accession of Bahadur Shah sent his sons to wait on the Emperor when he was marching to Deccan against Kham Baksh. Throughout his reign he remained loyal to Bahadur Shah. During the reign of Farrukh-Siyar he was raised to high favours. He defeated the Marathas in cooperation with Raja Jai Singh. On the 21st June, 1714, he secured the mansab of 6,000 zat (4,000 horse) and on the 3rd May, 1718, three of his sons and several grandsons attended the court and received rewards.[1]

During the early years of Muhammad Shah's reign, Chattar Sal remained quiet. Later he was driven into revolt by the encroachments of Muhammad Khan Bangash on his territories. The Afghan chief had been appointed governor of Allahabad on 25th December, 1720.[2] His jagirs lay in Bundelkhand. Personal interests as well as imperial interests required the reduction of areas now under the possession of the Bundela leader. Chattar Sal refused to surrender the hard won gains, and hostilities ensued.

Muhammad Khan Bangash appointed Dlair Khan[3] to establish the imperial authority in the land. The Bundelas rose to a man

---

1. M.U.II.p. 510. Irvine, II, pp. 228-230.
2. As a reward of his distinguished services in the battle of Hasanpur, Muhammad Khan received a Khilat, 7 lakhs of rupees in cash, the title of Ghanzafar Jung, and two parganas of Bhojpur and Shamshabad, along with the Subedari of Allahabad. Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad.p.34.
   . Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad. p. 26. Tarikh-i-Lauh. f.11(a).
3. Dilair Khan was the adopted son and chela of Muhammad Khan. He had fought for him in many compaigns and had impressed him by his loyalty and valour. In this contest he fought with only one thousand against an army of forty thousand. Though he perished in the end, his enemies admired his courage and gallantry. He was styled for his bravery as Surma "Brave." Takirh-i-Farrukhabad.p.34. Tarikh-i-Lauh. (F.30(a). J.A.S.B. 1878. Vol.IV. p.288.

to resist him; and they ousted the Afghans from Kalpi and Jalalpur. Dlair Khan with five hundred of his soldiers was killed in a severe battle fought on 25th May, 1721.[1] After sometime, Muhammad Khan Bangash set himself to restore order in the disturbed area and within a period of one year and four months, he brought the Bundela chief to his knees, although he had to fight against heavy odds. After the capture of Ijoli in pargana Moheba, Chattar Sal fled away, his troops were scattered, and he himself took shelter in the fort of Moheba itself. But in the next round Moheba was also reduced, and at last in June 1728 the Bangash chief laid seige to Jaitpur, the last stronghold of the Bundelas. Throughout the rainy season the investment continued with relentless pressure. Chattar Sal sent appeals for help in vain, and in the end (December, 1728) he surrendered the place to the enemy.[2] Chattar Sal surrendered himself and his family into the hands of the Mughal Subedar, who detained him in his camp for three or four months waiting for instructions from the court; where officers hostile to Muhammad Khan secretly advised the rebels to continue struggle and in desperation the Bundela chief applied to the Marathas for assistance.

The Peshwa readily agreed to support the Bundelas with his army. Taking leave of Raja Shahu on 27th November Baji Rao, at the head of 25,000 horse, advanced through Berar and reached Moheba, where he was received on 10th March by Bharti

---

1. Ibid.
2. Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad. ✗ pp.37-38.
   Khajista-i-Kalam - Arzdashat No.2 ⟵ 3 ff(5-8)
   J.A.S.B. pp.291-95.

Singh, the son of Chattar Sal.[1] His arrival infused a new spirit of confidence among other Bundela chiefs, who joined his standard. On March 19, the allied troops of the Bundelas and the Marathas, marched to Jaitpur, where Muhammad Khan with only 15,000 men lay encamped. When the enemy was sighted at a distance of 20 miles, he atonce started preparations for defence and letters were sent to Delhi for reinforcement.[2]

The enemy blocaded the Afghan camp. All supplies of food and fodder were completely cut off and the Afghans began to experience the hardships of starvation. On 25th March, Muhmmad Khan issued forth, but was compelled by the besigers to fall back.[3] His son, Qaim Khan, who was at Tarabwan, hearing his father's difficulties, marched upto Supa, 12 miles north-east of Jaitpur, but was repulsed by the Marathas, all his baggage and supplies fell into their hands. Availing of this diverson, Muhammad Khan escaped into the fort of Jaitpur which was surrounded by the Marathas. From the fort, Muhammad Khan sent appeals to the court for immediate succour. The Emperor ordered Khan-i-Dauran to march to the assistance of the belegured governor. " Full of intrigue, and deciet and excuses, he every evening put off his start to the morning, and every morning put it off until the evening." As a result no reinforcement reached Muhammad Khan. Luckily for Muhammad Khan with the rainy season an epademic broke out in the Maratha camp. Baji Rao atonce raised the seige, left Jaitpur on 23rd May and reached Poona on 16th July. The seige, however, continued for another three

---

1. S.P.D.XIII, 12,22,23., XXX, p.288.
2. J.A.S.B. pp. 293-98.
3. S.P.D.XIII, 45.

months. Reduced to extremities, Muhammad Khan agreed " not to attack the Bundelas again and content himself with the tribute they formerly paid."[1]

Thus the imperial cause in Bundelkhand was lost by the inactivity of the monarch and the factions of the nobles. The Marathas gained a footing in the land of the Bundelas by timely assistance to them in the hour of danger. Chattar Sal rendered his grateful thanks to Baji Rao by giving him a jagir worth of Rs. 2,25,00, and a fort in the neighbourhood of Jhansi, and adopted him as his son, and when he died on 14th December, 1731, one third of his territories were added to his former acquisitions.[2] " From Bundelkahnd it was easy to exercise a check upon the Rajputs in the west, to descend in a moment into the Duab and Oudh to the north and advance to Benaras, Patna and even Bengal to the east."[3] After one year of Chattar Sal's death, the Peshwa sent his brother to collect tribute from the chiefs of Orcha, Datia, Narwar and Bhadawar with a view of consolidating Maratha hold in Bundelkhand. In October, 1732, Chimaji reached Bundel-Khan, obtained the money equalent to the revenues (two lakhs and twenty five thousand) of jagir bestowed by the deceased Raja; his sons Jagat Raj and Hirdesa submitted to the Maratha power and handed over the charge of the fort of Rajgarh, and promised to assist them against the imperial forces. This opened the way to the north to the Marathas.

---

1. S.P.D.XXX, p. 289.
   Irvine, p 240.
   Dighe. p. 108.
2. Grant Duff. p. 421.
3. Sardesai. p.229. Vol.II.

Maratha Incursions on the Eastern Provinces.

Aliwardi Khan[1], deputy governor of Bihar, a man of daring enterprise, valour, inordinately ambitious and unfaithful, overthrew Sarfraz Khan (Ala-ud-Daulah Haider Jung), the governor of Bengal in the battle of Ghari (10th April, 1740) and became the master of three provinces, after obtaining royal recognition[2] by bribing the Emperor profusly. But he was not destined to enjoy power and peace for he had soon to face the Marathas. Raguji Bhonsle, was approached by the relations of the deceased Nawab Sarfraz Khan, who had taken refuge in the south after the latter's downfall. The former sent his prime minister Bhaskar Ram at the head of 20000 cavalry, commanded by 23 generals, to overrun the territories. Bhaskar, penetrating through Orissa reached Bardwan, and inflicted heavy losses of life and property on Ali Wardi Khan. He then sacked Murshidabad and occupied Hughli fort without much opposition. As a result, the whole of western Bengal passed into the hands of the enemy who established their headquarters at Katwa and from there Maratha detachments were

---

1. His original name was Mirza Mohd. Ali and was the grandson of one of Aurangzeb's foster brothers. His father Mirza Mohd was a petty servant in the establishment of Azam Shah. He came to Bengal in 1720, and got an employment of one hundred rupees as monthly salary under Shujauddin, the Deputy-governor of Orissa. It was through his efforts and those of his brother Haji Ahmad that Shujauddin obtained the subedari of Bengal, though his father-in-law Murshid Quli Jafar Khan did not wish it. He was appointed as faujdar of Rajmahal. When after the dismissal of Fakhru Daulah, the governor of Bihar, he was promoted as deputy-governor. His efficient administration brought for him more revenues, enabling him to strengthen his position. See for details "Aliwardi and his Times." By.Dr.K.Datta. (Chapter I. pp.2-25).

2. Siyyar pp. 489-493.

down and kicked with their shoes. They constantly shouted, "Give us rupees, give us rupees, give us rupees". When they got no rupee, they filled their victims nostrils with water or drowned them in tanks. Some were put to death by suffocation. Those who had none, had to give up their lives. It was only after crossing the Bhagirathi that people found safety."[1]

The Emperor ordered Safdar Jung to march into Bihar but he was recalled by Muhammad Shah on the representation of Aliwardi Khan. The Emperor, as usual, yielded to the enemy's demand. He promised a Chauth[a] of these provinces to Raja Shahu, who on his part, assigned the work of collection to Raghuji Bhonsle. In 1743, Raghuji set out for Katwa. Balaji Vishava Nath also came to Bengal by way of Bihar and met Aliwardi Khan on 31st March, 1743, at a place called Lauda, 7 miles south of Burhanpur near Murshidabad. The Nawab agreed in this meeting to pay Chauth to Raja Shahu, and 22 lakhs to Balaji, on his promise of driving Raghuji out of Bengal. The Peshwa did his duty well, and pursuing him through Orissa, he went back to Deccan.[2]

Raja Shahu by the settlement of 31st August, 1743, granted the Chauth from the four subas of Malwa, Agra, Ajmer as well as the two estates of Tikari and Bojpur (inclusive of Daudanagar) in Subah Bihar, yeilding 12 lakhs a year to the

---

1. Sarkar. pp. 49-50.

2. Siyar. pp. 524-525.
   Riyaz p. 351.
   Yusuf f. 44.
   Datta p. 86.

Peshwa while Raghuji was to enjoy the Chauth from the two Subahs of Bengal and Bihar except the Mahals yielding 12 lakhs reserve for the Peshwa.

After the conclusion of this treaty Bhaskar again marched on Bengal through Orissa at the beginning of March 1744. " As soon as Bhaskar arrived again, he summoned all his captains and ordered them, " Draw your swords and kill every man and woman that you see." When the commander spoke thus, they plundered and slew on every side with shouts of kill'.kill! Brahmans, Vaishnavs, Sanyasis, women and cows were slaughtered by the hundred." Sarkar gives Aliwardi Khan's reaction in these words; " The Nawab found that in return for all his expenditure he had now got not an assured protector, but only two-blood suckers instead of one. The Peshwa's breach of his promise and callous desertion of the Nawab's cause threw Aliwardi into an agony of despair and rage. Smarting under the 'Punic bad faith,' of the Maratha race, he decided to use the same weapon to free his people from their intolerable tyranny."[1] The Nawab conspired with his general Mustafa Khan to destroy the aggressor by a strategam. They succeeded in getting Bhaskar and his 21 generals murdered when the party entered the camp erected for their welcome and peace talks, on the plain of Manakara on 31st March, 1744. Raghuji Gaikwad was the only survivor who fled away with his troops to Nagpur. For fifteen months Bengal enjoyed peace, and the province was cleared out of the Marathas.[2]

---

1. Sarkar pp.58-59.
2. Siyar, pp. 528-531.
   Datta p. 91.

But there arose hard difficulties which rendered his position untenable. The province suffered further from rivalries of the governor and Mustafa Khan. Early in November, 1746, the Nawab was asked by the Emperor to send Rs 25 lakks as Chauth of Bengal and Rs 10 lakhs that of Bihar to the royal treasury so that the money could be sent to Raja Shahu.[1] Aliwardi Khan made complaints against the pact formed between the Emperor and Raja Shahu. He regarded all the three provinces as one administrative unit and was not prepared to make a separate agreement for the Bihar Chauth with the Peshwa when there was no guarantee for the defence of Bengal. He said to Raghunath Jaya Ram, a Maratha agent at Murshidabad. "Patna is mine, Bengal too is mine, I ought to act treating both provinces as one. The Chauth for the two is inseperable."[2] In his reply to Muhammad Shah, the Nawab argued that when a settlement had been struck with Raja Shahu, why did Raghuji Bhonsle march towards Bengal, and why did not the Peshwa take the responsibility of preventing him. The question of payment did not arise as there was no guarantee of immunity from further raids and also because of his own poor finances. In the beginning of the year 1751, both the Nawab and the Marathas had realised the futility of war and entered into a treaty with them in March 1751, which secured some respite to the Nawab.[3]

---

1. Sarkar. p. 72.
2. S.P.D., II. 4.10.
3. Siyar p. 591.
   Sarkar, p. 92.

CHAPTER VI.

RAJPUTANA, ROHILKHAND AND THE PUNJAB.

Muhammad Shah and his precedessors had pursued a policy of concilation towards the Rajput princes. High ranks, riches and honours were bestowed on Jaipur and Marwar princes. But the weakness of the central government and the intrigues of rival factions at the court stimulated their ambition and desire for independence. Raja Jai Singh wanted to set up an independent state stretching from the river Jumna to the banks of Narmada. " All the pent-up personal ambition and inter-state rivalries, now burst forth without fear or check, and Rajputana became a zoological garden with the barriers of the cages thrown down and and keepers removed."[1] With the gradual crumbling down of central authority, the Marathas, the Sikhs, the Jats and the Afghans raised their heads in a bid to found principalities. The Rajputs were too much engrossed in their domestic affairs and clannish jealousies to combine amongst themselves with the result that they play a secondary role in the shifting political scene.

The Revolt of Raja Ajit Singh.

On the accession of Muhammad Shah, Raja Ajit Singh of Jodhpur, who had acquired great power under the patronage of the Saiyid Brothers, did not make the customary submission to the new Emperor.[2] He resented the royal favour lavished on the Kacchwa Prince. While he had not only been dismissed from the subedari of Gujrat, but even Ajmer was taken away from his

---

1. Sarkar, Vol. I, p. 131.
2. K.K. p. 937.

charge.[1] At the head of thirty thousand horse, he marched from Jodhpur, entered Ajmer and forbade the performance of Muslim ceremonies.[2] Muhammad Shah, despatched a contingent of twenty thousand horse under the command of Muzaffar Ali Khan.[3] Raja Ajit Singh made peace with the government.[4] Ajmer was left in his charge while Gujrat was promised to be given to him at a later date. Nahar Khan was appointed as the Diwan of the province with the Faujdari of Sambhar, but he was assassinated by the Rathor chief.[5]

Muhammad Shah appointed one Sharfud-Daulah to conduct a compaign against the Rathors.[6] Raja Jai Singh, Muhammad Khan Bangash and Raja Girdhar Bahadur were ordered to assist the new imperial commander.[7] Before Sharfud-Daulah could open his operations, he was replaced by Haider Quli Khan. On 28th February, 1723, the imperial Farman was received by Raja Jai Singh, and in the next month he was informed that Haider Quli Khan had been appointed governor of Ajmer. The Raja was asked to join the royal army at Narnol, and act according to arrangements agreed upon amongst the royal commanders.[8]

---

1. T.M. p. 259.
2. Siyar. p. 96.
3. T.M. p. 262.
4. T.M. p. 268.
   Virvinod. p. 1150. Vol.II, Part.3.
5. K.K. p. 937. Ashob. p. 157.
   Akhbarat (Persian) Vol.2. p. 115. dated 10th February,1723.
6. Majmua-i-Insha-i-Wala Jahi. p. 52.
7. Akhbarat (Persian) Vol.II. p. 108.
8. Ashob. p. 157.
   Warid. p. 575.
   Akhbarat. p. 109. dated March, 1723.

Raja Ajit Singh marched towards Sambhar without risking an encounter with the imperial forces; and when Haider Quli Khan and other nobles entered Sambhar, he marched further towards Jodhpur.[1] On 8th June, 1723, the new governor captured Ajmer, and on 17th June, Garh Patili was invested, which after one and half month was reduced.[2]

Through the mediation of Raja Jai Singh, a treaty was entered into with the Emperor by the Maharaja of Jodhpur. His son Abhaya Singh attended the court and offered elephants, valuable articles and money as presents to the Emperor.[3] The heir-apparent of the Maharaj was received with all respect, and gifts and honours were conferred upon him; but he was detained at court.[4] In the following year (1724) Maharaja Ajit Singh was murdered by his own younger son Bakhat Singh.[5] He was succeeded by Abhaya Singh at Delhi, where Muhammad Shah invested him with a robe of honour, and the titles of his father with a mansab of 7,000/7,000 in recognition of his legitmate claims as successor of his father. Nagor was also given to him as jagir which he handed over to Bhakat Singh after his return from Gujrat where he had been sent to help Sarbuland Khan in quelling the defection of Hamid Khan.[6] In 1730 he was appointed as the Subedar of Gujrat which he govenred for full seven years, till he was replaced in 1737 by Munim Khan.[7] Thus after the death of Maharaja Ajit Singh, Marwar, under Abhaya Singh became

---

1. T.H. p. 497.
2. Abid.p. 496.
3. T.H.p. 498.
4. Ibid.
5. Tod. p. 927,(Vol. II).
   Warid. p. 576.
   Kamwar. f. 221(a). See for the reasons of his murder, Irvin's discussion in his later Mughals, Vol.II pp. 92
6. Tod. p. 927. Vol.II.
7. Mirat-i-Ahmedi, p. 118.

an eminent power in Rajputana, its ruler, brave and loyal, enjoyed the King's favour, and opposed to the policy of compromise with the Marathas, as advocated by Raja Jai Singh and his friend Samsam-ud-Daulah.

Rise of Raja Jai Singh.

Raja Jai Singh, had gained substantial political weight in imperial affairs by virtue of his hostility towards the Saiyid brothers and unshaking loyalty for Muhammad Shah. As a reward for his allegiance the titles of Sarmad Raj Ha-i-Hindusta Raj Rajendar Raj Dhiraj Swai Jai Singh, besides robes of honour and valuable articles were conferred on him. His request for the abolition of Jaziya was also accepted on this memorable occasion.[1] Congratulations poured on him from all sides for this admirable act, and the Maharana of Udaipur called him as the biggest Sardar of Hindustan.[2] To prove his fidelity to the Mughal throne he granted religious liberty to the Muslims, who during the rebellion of the Rajputs, could not exercise formal practices of their faith.[3] He secured the parganas of Dhandora, the monopoly of fifty one parganas in Shikwari, Jagirs in Maraina, in the Sarkar of Moinabad, Ajmer, and the joint control with Abhay Singh over Sambhar.[4] He was appointed in the year 1722, the governor of Agra after the removal of

---

1. Kamwar f. 194(a). Akhbarat Vol. III, Part 5, p.10 dated February 2, 1721. Shivdas, p. 131. Virvinod p. 1150 (Vol.II, part 3).
2. Akhbarat (Vol.III. part 5) p.8. dated December 27,1720.
3. Siyar . p. 70.
4. Akhbarat (Additional-Persian) Vol.2, pp.13,16,41 dated 17th November, 1728.
   Akhbarat (Hindi) Vol.2.p.27 dated October 8, 1720, p.157.

Saadat Khan Burhanul Mulkm, whom he defeated by capturing the fort of Thun on 18th November, 1722.[1] In recognition of this conspicious service, he received, on 12th June, 1732, the title of Raja-i-Rajeshwar, Shri Raj Dhiraj, Maharaja Jai Singh Sawai.[2] Badan Singh, the rebel nephew of Churaman Jat, was made the new chief of the Jats by Raja Jai Singh. To secure his position further he shrewdly sought the friendship of Khan-i-Dauran, the most influential man at the court. His friend proved to him a strong shield in promoting his interests and defending him against his enemies. In the midst of court intrigues, he had the leisure to carry on his favourite pursuit of science and architecture. He founded in 1728 a new capital and named it after him as Jaipur, corrected the prevailing calendar; erected observatories at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, and Benaras and constructed several carvan Sarais and bridges. Jaipur became the seat of art and science, to which the prominent literary and scientific figures of the time flocked for patronage. Religious minded and devout his relations, however, with the Muslims were cordial. He respected and helped those who belonged to respectable families, or had some social contacts with him. The Muslim sought his recommendation for government services; he either employed them in his own government or secured jobs for them in the central administration.

---

1. K.K. p. 945.
   Akhbarat (Hindi) Vol.III, part No.5, dated October 28,1722.
   28th November, 1722, pp. 15,16, Kamwar f.212(b).
2. K.K. p. 945.

He visited shrines of Muslim saints and distributed there money in charity.[1]

His appointment as the governor of Malwa in November, 1729, gave him ample scope to embark on his deeply cherished design of imposing his supremacy over other Rajput chieftains. His covetous eyes fell on Bundi, whose Raja had incurred his displeasure on some domestic issue and was at war with the Prince of Kota. He wanted to dethrone Budh Singh, his brother-in-Law, and appoint a raja of his own choice in order to hold his control over the state. On May 19, 1730, he crowned Dalel Singh Hada as the Rao Raja of Bundi, who acknowledged his overlordship as a vassal, and married his dauther to him.[2] Budh Singh, addicated to wine and opium, gave up any hope of recovering his dominion, and repaired to Udaipur. But his queen, restlessly ambitious asked for Maratha help against the usurper. Pratap Singh Hada, the eldest son of Salim Singh, joined the ranks of Budh Singh. He was sent to Poona by the queen to settle terms of Maratha military assistance. On condition of payment of six lakhs of rupees, the Marathas promised to fight for Budh Singh. On 22nd April, 1734, Malhar Rao Holdar and Ranoji Sindhia attacked Bundi and after a stiff contest captured the fort. Sangram Singh the father of Dalel Singh was made captive, and Bud Singh's wife, overjoyed at the success, tied

---

1. Akhbarat (Sarkar' collections - Vol.IV, Miscellaneous) pp. 131, 115, 113; Akhbarat (Hindi - Vol.I) p. 139.
2. Tod, p. 1347, Vol.II.

the Rakhi thread round the wrist of Holkar, the goat-herd's son, declaring him publicly as her brother. No sooner did the Marathas turn their backs, there came a strong force from Jaipur which restored Dalel Singh to the gaddi of Bundi.[1]

His Relations with the Marathas.

Like Nizamul Mulk, from whose book he had taken the leaf, he entered into alliance with the Marathas, agreeing to pay Chauth and support their cause, provided his territories were not laid waste. He advocated a policy of compromise with the Marathas, and suggested peaceful methods to terminate war with them. He once proposed that Jagirs worth ten lakhs each in the provinces of Malwa and Gujrat should be given to Raja Shahu, when he attended the Mughal court.[2] On the other occasion, February, 1739, he recommended a grant of 20 lakhs in cash and of a jagir of 40 lakhs in Malwa for the Raja of Poona.[3] "With every defeat and with every attempt for conciliation on the part of the Imperialists, the Maratha demands rose higher and higher, and every such rise in their demands increased the reaction against the Marathas and helped the anti-Maratha party."[4] The triumph of the anti-Maratha elements in the court thwarted his attempts in bringing about an adjustment between the two fighting powers and antagonised him with the Mughals. His

---

1. Sarkar, 1, 251-2; Tod, p. 1332, Vol. No.2.
2. Akhbarat (Hindi collection) Vol.5 Part VIII dated July 2, 1726, 65-68.
3. S.P.D. XIV, 50-51.
4. Malwa in Transition, p. 209.

subsequent record is disfigured by utter faithlessness and disloyalty to the Mughal cause and perfidious intrigues with the Marathas who later spared neither friend nor foe in their relentless depredations.

Fails to create unity among Rajput chiefs.

Alarmed at the terrible impact of Maratha militarism under which, their lands lay trodden, the Rajput Princes threw themselves in a union for the defence of their common cause. Raja Jai Singh called a meeting of Maharana Jugat Singh Abhay Singh, Bakhat Singh of Nagor, Zorawar Singh of Bikaneer, Durjain Sal of Kota, Delel Singh of Bundi, Gopal Pal of Karoli, Raj Singh of Kishangadh, all big and small Rajas, at Hurda near Agaunch (a village in Mewar) on 17th July, 1734, to work out a joint scheme against the Maratha invaders. It was agreed in the conference that all the participants would help each other in their difficulties; they would not employ unfaithful persons; and all of them would assemble at Rampura with their contingents and after rains launch a compaign to drive the Marathas out of Rajputana, and if anyone of them could not come out in person, he would send his son or brother.[1] But their own mutual jealousie constituted a great impediment in the prosecution of this plan. " Though the individuality enamoured of liberty, the universility of the sentiment prevented its realization they nevery would submit to the control required to work it out, and this, the last opportunity, which had ever occured, was lost"[2]. After few years, they made yet another attempt to establish unity

---

1. Virvinod, pp.1220-21, Vol.II.
   Akhbarat (Hindi collection) Vol. III, part No.5, p.54. dated 17th July, 1734. Malwa in Transition, p. 229.
2. Tod. p.431, Vol.I.

among themselves in order to turn out the Marathas of Malwa. It was proposed that after driving them out, Malwa would be partioned among them. But this treaty too did not bear any fruit.[1] Many discordant elements were working in the Rajput politics at this stage of the crisis. The fall of Mughal supermacy on Malwa perilously exposed the Rajputs to Maratha attacks but the Rajputs were too honeycombed with mutual jealousies to stand as one against a common enemy. " There was no crime which a Rajput could not commit for the sake of land. Father killed son, and son murdered father. Women of the noblest rank gave poison to their trusting kismen. Kings took the lives of loyal ministers. None, even the highest born descendant of God Rama, shrank from buying the aid of an alien plundered to decide his domestic contests.[2]"

The triple treaty of 1708 formed between Udaipur, Jaipur and Jodhpur states, had decided that the son born to the daughter of the Maharana would succeed to Jai Singh. In December, 1728, the expected event took place, and the Raja became anxious to avert the inevitable troubles subsequent on the succession of Madho Singh and the supersession of Shiv Singh and Ishwari Singh, his elder sons.[3] Jai Singh persuaded his father-in-law to assign Rampura which the latter had received as a grant from Farrukh-Siyar in 1718. Rampura was granted to Madho Singh,

---

1. Virvinod, pp.1225-26, Vol.II.
2. Sarkar, p.131, Vol.II.
3. Virvinod, p. 973, Vol.II.

one year old child, by his grand father, the Maharana, in 1729, 1729, but was occupied by the Raja's forces when fighting broke out between Sangram Singh, and Durjan Sal of Kotah.[1] The administration of the district was conducted by the Raja's officers till September 7, 1743, when at the Maharana's desire he withdrew them.[2] Raja Jai Singh in his old age had become "partial to the cup" and inattentive to the calls of duty. No ambition and no hope bore fruits in his life time. His kingdom no doubt rich in resources, was neither independent nor extensive as he wanted it to be. He died on 21st September, 1743, and after his death, he was succeeded by his eldest son Ishwari Singh who secured recognition of his indefeasible claim from Muhammad Shah.[3]

---

1. Virvinod, p. 990, Vol.II.
2. Ibid, p. 1236, Vol.II.
3. Malwa in Transition, p. 294.
   Sarkar, p. 158.

Rohilkhand.

With the increasing pressure on the north-west frontiers and the dislogment of the Afghans from the region of Ghazni, largescale migration of Afghan tribes began eastward. A large number of Afghan adventurers and free lances came to India and joined their brethern who were already comfortably settled in Rohilkhand comprising Muradabad, Bareilly, Bijnor, Badaun and Anola. The quest for jobs tempted these professional fighters to serve under Indian leaders who struggled for power, and very soon made a place for themselves in the country. Bold and warlike, the Afghan adventurers were simple and coarse in their manners, and free from the vices of a degenerate society of the Indian Muslims.[1] Their most distinguished leader who brought them under his banner and established their power in the country known by the name of Katehar, a pargana in Badaun, was Ali Muhammad Khan (1707-1749), the son of Daud Khan. Daud Khan was a slave of Mahmud Khan Badalzai, an influential Amir in the district of Attock. Ambitious and enterprising, Daud Khan left his master, migrated to India in the reign of Bahadur Shah, and settled in Kather. At that time the local zamindars fought with each other and did not pay the revenues to the Government. Daud Khan with his companians began to serve these zamindars. By and by he made a position for himself, and the local Afghans as well as the emigrants from Roh gathered round

---

1. Irvine, p. 117, Vol.II.
   Sarkar, p. 26, Vol. I.
   Gulistan-i-Rehmat, f 7(a).

him.

He was employed by Madar Shah, a zamindar of Madhekar, a town in Badaun, and was sent to fight against the zamindars of Bankuli, 26 miles north of Bareilly. He besieged the town and after defeating the zamindar captured it and all his properties. Among the prisoners, there was a young Jat boy of eight years, whose charms captivated Daud Khan. He took the boy under his care, converted to Islam, and named him Ali Muhammad Khan.[1] Daud Khan after gaining renown and wealth, deserted Madar Shah and entered the service of Debi Chand of Kumaon. Azmatullah Khan, faujdar of Moradabad, let a punitive expedition against the Raja and defeated him. Debi Chand suspected treason on the part of Daud Khan and to punish him got Daud Khan and his associates treacherously murdered. He left two sons, Ali Muhammad Khan and Muhammad Khan. As the latter was minor, Ali Muhammad Khan was selected as sardar by the Afghans.[2]

---

1. While most of the Persian authorities are of the opinion that Ali Muhammad Khan was Jat by birth, the author of Tarikh-Faiz Bakhsh (F.12) says that he was the son of Daud Khan. Najmul Ghani of Rampur has written that he was a Saiyid by birth.
2. Gulistan-i-Rehmat, ff. 6-10.
   Akhbar Hasan, pp. 8-14.
   Shiv Prshad, ff. 11-13.
   Ashob. pp. 236-237.
   Bayan. f. 61(b).
   M.U. II. pp. 857-862.
   Akhbar-us-Sanadid. (Urdu) 1918-1, pp. 80-84.

The long desired appeared in the person of Ali Muhammad Khan. Only a lad of fifteen years, he yet commanded the respect of the senior sardars. His first care was to tinroduce new technique and weapons in his army to suit the changed conditions of warfare. Rohillas were supplied with muskets, and trained on new lines to use them with accuracy, combination and mobility.[1] The country where they settled offered unique opportunities to a determinied and restless leader to carve out a principality for himself. Once possessed with military might, the Rohella adventurer made a successful bid for expansion of his possession. Taking Nibia Bowli from Azmatullah Khan, he set up his head-quarters at Bisauli (14 miles south-cast of Chandausi) and advanced in his career of glory with boundless confidence and invincible courage.[2] He secured the friendship of the wazir by helping his son Azimullah in a compaign against Saiyid Saifuddin Khan of Jansath, brother of Husain Ali Khan. For his conspicuous bravery, Ali Muhammad Khan was rewarded some concessions in revenue and the title of Nawab with permission to use Naubat. In April, 1741, he took possession of Anola by killing Raja Harnand Kathri, the new faujdar of Moradabad and his son Motilal. But self-seeking and opportunist as he was, the Nawab submitted to Moinul Mulk, son of Itmadud-Daulah, when he at the head of an expeditionary force entered his territory to punish him. A settlement was, however, made between the two parties. Ali

---

1. Sarkar, p. 30.
2. Gulistan-i-Rehmat, ff. 9-10.
   Shiv Prashad, f. 13(a)(b).
   Akhbar Hasan, f. 11.

Muhammad Khan was restored in his possessions, and his daughter was bethroad to the son of the wazir. This gave him the status of a grandee and prepared for him the way for further extension of his territories. He avenged the death of Daud Khan by capturing the fort of Raja Kalyan Chand, successor of Debi Chand of Kumon, and planting his victorious banner on its ramparts.[1]

Safdar Jung, the Mir Atash, had watched the rapid progress of his arms with anxiety and fear. He knew that Doab was too narrow a field for his activity; one day the Rohella chief would push forward his frontier towards the east. He induced the Emperor to nip the danger in the bud before it assumed serious proportions and Muhammad Shah accepted the proposal.[2]

On 15th February, 1745, Muhammad Shah, accompanied by his nobles, and at the head of a huge army and artillery left Delhi, he remained in the garden of Frahat Afza at Loni for 18 days.[3] It was only after three months (14th May) that they reached Bangadh, the enemy's strong hold, 110 miles from Delhi.[4]

---

1. Gulistan-i-Rehmat, f.17-18.
   Shiv Prashad, ff.14(a), 17(a).
   Akhbar Hasan. p. 18.
   T.M. p. 260.
   Bayan. f. 60(b).
   Imad.p.42.
2. Early in 1745, there occured a very petty event which Safdar Jung made as his pretext. One day some workers under the supervision of Darogha Imarat (Superintendent of P.W.D.) sent by Safdar Jung were busy in cutting the wood in the suburbs of Kathir, when some Rohilas came there and objected against the work. There arose a quarell which soon resulted in sword fighting. Many of the workers were killed. Thinking it a great affront to his honour, the Mir Atash sent the word to the wazir that the Rohilla leader be punished. Qamruddin Khan did not take any action. Therefore, Safdar Jung presented the case before the Emperor. Ashob, p.237. T.M.p.260., Bayan f. 60(b). Shiv Prashad, f. 17(b).
3. Safarnama, pp. 1-7.
4. Mukhlis. (Safarnama) p. 32.

The imperial generals showed little inclination to open their operations against the adversary who stood in battle array not far off. Four days (16th May - 20th May) were passed in inactivity, till on the last night the enemy attacked the royal camp, but they were replused.[1]

The wazir, who was against the expedition from the outset, persuaded the Emperor to abandon war and return home, as the enemy was ready to surrender, and the rainy season was fast approaching. The Emperor thought the enterprise fruitless and relinquished it. Ali Muhammad Khan surrendered all his possessions, promised to dismantle his fortresses and accompany the Emperor to Delhi.[2]

In Delhi he was put in the Charbagh of Itmad-ud-Daulah in the locality of Jai Singhpura. Though the Rohillahs had been forbidden to cross the Ganges and enter Delhi, they in disguise gathered in the garden to take their Sardar back to Anola. Though they were compelled to return by the Nawab himself, the wazir feared trouble by his presence in Delhi. His removal from Delhi became imperative. Qamruddin, therefore, managed to secure employment for him as Faujdar of Sirhind, his own jagir with the rank of 4,000. But his two sons were detained as hostages in the court.[3]

---

1. Mukhlis, pp. 63-65. Ausaful Asaf, f.43(a). Shiv Prasad.f. 19(a). Akhbar Hasan p. 23. Ashob. p.238. T.M. p.260. Imad. p. 41.
2. Safarnama. pp. 33,55,65,76-79.
3. Gulistan-i-Rehmat. p. 28, Imad. p. 43. Ashob. p. 242. Akhbar Hasan, p. 25., Shiv Prashad. p. 26, f.21(a,b).

Ali Muhammad Khan did not stay long at Sirhind. He left it when Abdali troops penetrated into the Punjab. Arriving at Saharanpur on 24th February, he crossed the Ganges and reached Muradabad, where from he ousted Saiyid Hideyat Ali Khan, Faujdar of Bareilly. Before he closed his eyes on 25th September, 1748, he was the virtual lord of Muradabad, Sambhal, Anola, Bijnore, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur. After his death 25,000 lakhs of rupees were found in his treasury.

Thus by the indolence of the Emperor and the disunity of the nobles, the richest part of northern India was slipped away from control. Gujrat and Malwa had already passed into the hands of Marathas. The Trans Indus territories were in the control of the foreigners and Oudh and Hyderabad under the rule of independent governors. The eastern provinces had been devastated by Maratha aggression. It was Doab only which could sustain the Emperor, but this too was allowed to be usurped by the Rohillas with the result that when Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, ascended the throne there was no money to pay the arrears of the soldiers, and the imperial stores were sold to the shop keepers and pedlars. Sarkar correctly remarks that " Such an empire had already forfeited its right to exist."

Punjab.

The condition of the Punjab was rapidly deteriorating. Exposed to foreign invasions and internally torn by dissensions and paralysed by the militant Sikhs who were rapidly organising themselves, the Punjab presented difficult problesm which Delhi government could not solve and the province sank into anarchy particularly because governorship had been allowed to become hereditary.

Zakariya Khan after governing the province for a period of 29 years died on Ist July, 1745. Zakariya Khan had left three sons. The eldest was Yahiya Khan, Azd-ud-Daulah II, who was married to the daughter of the wazir's son Itmad-ud-Daulah II. His second son Hayatullah with titles of Hizbar Jung II and Shah Nawaz Khan was bold, courageous, hot-headed, hard-hearted, ambitious and daring. He was known by the nickname of Philaur. During Nadir Shah's invasion he had accompanied the invader from Lahore to Delhi, from where he was sent to his father with orders to keep ready a Karor of rupees for him, (Nadir Shah). On Nadir's return he followed him as far as Larkana in Sindh, received from him the title of Shah Nawaz Khan and was appointed governor of Multan. Zakariya Khan's third son was Khwaja Baqi Khan. He is an obscure figure in the history. Both Shah Nawaz Khan and his elder brother Yahiya Khan were in Delhi when news of their father's death reached them. Within a week they left for the Punjab.[1]

His two sons Yahiya Khan and Hayatullah Khan took up arms against each other to contest for the division of the province. Muhammad Shah prevaricated in confirming either of them in the government of Lahore and Multan. The delay embittered their relations and caused wide-spread restlessness. At last the

---

1. Ashob. p. 252.
   M.U. pp. 106-107, (Vol.II).
   Miftah-ut-Tawarikh . p. 316.
   Mukhlis.ff.149.
   T.M. p. 269.

the wazir was appointed the governor with Mir Munim Khan as his deputy.[1] Qamruddin could not preserve peace so long maintained by his predecessor. His deputy was too weak to suppress the growing insolence of Sikhs and Jats. "Disorder broke out. Everywhere lawless men, plunders and adventurers, who had so long kept themselves in hiding, now came out of their holes and began to desolate the realm.... on one side the Raja of Jammu rebelled, and on the other, the Sikhs began to cause tumult and trouble."[2] In 1746 Munim Khan was replaced by Yahiya Khan as deputy governor to the wazir.[3] The remedy proved worst than the disease.

Hayatullah Khan, aggressive and of daring disposition demanded the division of his deceased father's estates, and, to vindicate his rights, he launched an offensive against his brother by invading Lahore. In the battle that ensued on 17th March, 1747, Yahiya was defeated and imprisoned with his followers.[4]

Hayatullah Khan proclaimed himself the governor without waiting for the orders of the Emperor. All the threats and entreaties used by Qamruddin Khan to induce the usurper to liberate Yahiya Khan proved of no avail.[5] After one year Yahiya Khan effected his escape. Fearful of the wazir's revenge and feeling his own ground slippery Hayatullah Khan opened secret

---

1. Ashob. p.251.
2. Mukhlis f. 149.
3. Ibid.
4. Ashob. p. 252., T.M. p.270., Bayan, f.65(a).
5. Ibid. Shah Nawaz Khan adopted Shia faith and caused the names of 12 Imam to be engraved on his new seal. He erased the words from his seal, (فدوی جان نثار و ثناه) Devoted servant of Muhammad Shah, and substituted in their stead the following verse. الٰہی تو بر نیتم آگہی - چو نیت بخیر است خیرم دہی
(O' Lord, thou art witness of my intentions. Since my heart inclines to good, bestow good upon me).

correspondence with Ahmad Shah Abdali, who had become master of Afghanistan after the assassination of Nadir Shah in June, 1742.[1] The stage was set for another round for foreign invasions and consequent loss of life property and prestige.

---

1. Ashob. f. 253.
   Bayan. f. 65(b).
   T.M. p. 270.

CHAPTER VII.

FOREIGN INVASIONS.

NADIR SHAH'S INVASION.

The Frontier Provinces under Muhammad Shah.

Through the North Western passes, from times immemorial, some of the greatest warriors and empire-builders of Asia have invaded India. During the middle ages, the rulers of India had built up defences in this vulnerable part to ensure stability of their rule. For the invader after conquering the Punjab had no difficulty in pushing ahead his conquests right up to Brahamputtra, a vast plain without high hills and difficult barriers to obstruct the movement of the army. The entire border was inhabited by clans and tribes of mountaineers who were war-like, hardy, poor, and torn by mutual feuds; and, whose normal condition by tradition, was one of haughty independance open defiance of established authority and carrying predatory invasions into the rich fertile plains. The Mughul Emperors took special interest in strengthening the defences on the border by building forts, fortresses, out-posts and keeping well equipped, well paid and well officered garrisons there.

After the loss of Qandhar in 1649, the Mughul interests in the western frontier had diminished, and turned to more pressing problems in the rest of the Empire. Nevertheless, Alamgir, had the foresight to keep a vigilant watch on the border and crush the tribal risings of the Afridis and Yusufzais by the method of " breaking two bones by knocking them together.[1] His last

---

1.Sarkar, Vol.IV, p. 245.

two governors of Kabul, Amir Khan (1677-1697), and Shah Alam (1699-1707) maintained peace and order in that region by tact and military force.[1] The effects of this vigorous policy pursued for a period of thirty years were far-reaching and the reign of Bhadur Shah (1707-1712) was not disturbed by the hill-men or foreign invasions.

Muhammad Aman, son of Husain Beg Khan, on whom had been bestowed the title of Nasir Khan by Alamgir for his good services in Kabul, replaced Ibrahim Khan in 1710 as the governor of Afghanistan.[2] After his death in 1717 his son was allowed to retain the post by Farrukh Siyar. Muhammad Shah confirmed him in his office in 1720, and granted him the title of his father, Nasir Khan.[3]

The period of 18 years that intervened between the accession of Muhammad Shah (1720) and the invasion of Nadir Shah (1738) witnessed continuous warfare with the Marathas. The Mughul government had thrown her whole might into the scale in death-grapple with the Marathas in Malwa till the climax was reached in 1738 and victory declared itself in favour of Raji Rao who defeated Nizamul Mulk at Bhopal.[4] Besides the appalling wastage

---

1. Sarkar, Vol.IV, pp.243-45.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, M.U. III, p. 833.
   T.M. p. 280.
   Kamwar, f.211(a).
   In the reign of Rafi-ud-Darjat Sarbuland Khan Mubariz-ul-Mulk had been appointed as governor of Kabul. (M.U.Vol.III, p. 707). But his son, Khanzad Khan, who was acting as his deputy, was defeated near Khaibar by the rebellious Afghans while he was returning from Kabul. Sarbuland Khan was dismissed on this account and Nasir Khan was reinstated in his old office. T.M.p. 268.

of wealth and man-power in these compaings, the seizure of Gujrat and Malwa by the Marathas had caused shrinkage of revenue. On the province of Bengal was financing the government and, it was natural that Murshid Quli Khan's 20 lakhs could not be sufficient to meet the demands of the army and the civil services. Muhammad Shah though informed of the recent Persian revolution and the role of Nadir Shah as world conqueror failed to estimate the repercussions on his empire.

His chief advisor, Samsam-ud-Daulah, who still dominated the Mughul court, was selfish, narrow-minded, and engaged in promoting the interests of his party at the cost of national cause.

The government of Afghanistan was a heavy burden on the sources of the central government. Not only money was needed for the conduct of an efficient administration, but for the payment of political pensions to the greedy hill-men to prevent them from highway robbery and the violation of the imperial frontier. But as royal treasury had become improvished, money had not been sent for a longtime even to clear the dues of the garrison at Kabul.

The discipline in the army was slack and the civil administration had fallen into disorder. Nasir Khan, the governor of Kabul had neither the tact or the vigour to keep the garrison contented and hold the tribesmen under control.[1] His patron, Roshan-ud-Daulah, who was entrusted with the business of sending five lakhs of rupees per month to Nasir Khan to be distributed among mountaneers was accused by his

---

1. Siyar, p. 479.

rival Khan-i-Dauran of embezzlement. The Amirul Umra poisoned the Emperor's mind against him and suggested that the money should be stopped from being sent to Kabul and Roshan-ud-Daulah was dismissed.[1] Nasir Khan made appeals for money but without success. The Afghan soldiers of his army numbering four thousand left Kabul and and passing through hill passes, forests, towns and villages, and undergoing many hardships reached Delhi to present their case before the Emperor. But they were told that money had already been sent to the governor, and they should return home. When they requested that some money should be given to them for expenses, Khan-i-Dauran made blunt refusal and forced them to quit the capital.[2]

On their return from Delhi they joined the standard of one Amir Beg who was in rebellion against Zakirya Khan in Sialkot, which was in the jagir of Nasir Khan. The governor of Punjab launched a compaign against the rebel, and defeating his forces devastated half of the town. When Nasir Khan was informed that his jagir had been taken over by the governor's troops, he sent his own detachment to Sialkot to re-establish order. This event took place when the seige of Qandhar was in progress by Nadir Shah.

The defence of the frontier was thus weakened and the strategic province was left exposed to the rapaciousness of the tribal chiefs and the ambitions of military leader. Complete disorder prevailed in the province and the administration broke down.

Samsam-ud-Daulah was opposed to Nasir Khan, and every

---

1. Ashob, p. 99, Vol.I.
2. Salar Jung Museum MS. f. 361(b)

appeal he made for money to clear the dues of his soldiers, was received with contempt and indifference. When embarrâsed by starving soldiery, he wrote to the central government " that he himself was but a rose bush withered by the blast of autumn, while his army were no more than a faded pageant, ill-provided and without spirit, he begged that the five year's salary due to him, one year's salary might be paid, that he might satisfy his creditors and have some little money at his command."[1] Khan-i-Dauran replied to them, " Do you think that I am petty simpleton that I shall be impressed by such a tale as yours? Our houses are built on the plain, wo do not fear anything except what we can see with our own eyes. Your houses stand on lofty hills, and therefore you have probably sighted Mongol and Qizalbash armies from the roofs of your houses. Reply to your master that we are writing for money to the governor of Bengal; and when the Bengal revenue arrives after the rainy season, the money due will be quickly sent to Kabul."[2]

As no money was sent to maintain the administration in the province, Nasir Khan giving up all hopes of success before the rolling tide of Persian invasion, handed over the charge of the fort to the Qiladar, and himself repaired to Peshwar to live in comfort and pass his time inhunting and prayers.[3] Nadir Shah after crowning himself as the Emperor of Persia on 26th February, 1736, turned his arms against Qandhar early

---

1. Mukhlis, f.118(b), 199(c).
2. Ibid.
3. Siyar p. 479.

in 1737 to destroy the power of the Afghans, the hereditary foes of Persia.[1] If Qandhar was wrested from the Afghans, Nadir Shah could lead his armies direct into Afghanistan.

Nasir Khan again wrote to the Emperor to equip the garrison, strengthen the outposts and pay the salaries of the army as Nadir Shah's target was India after the capture of Qandhar.[2] His representatives were received with redicule and he and his staff were branded as cowards.[3] Whenever the Vakil of Nasir Khan approached Khan-i-Dauran and gave the former's letter to him, " he, seeing the agent at distant would come, take the letter into his hand, laugh, sneer and say, Mira Sahib, what is the matter to day? Your master has sent the gun of luck in motion, and forgot the favours of two hundred years, and the services of two generations in the cause of the empire. On every pretext he wants money. He writes something on one occasion and on the next another. But the friends are ignorant and the Emperor understands nothing. How long I would continue to present the case before the Emperor. Thamasp Quli Khan is not relieved of his war of destruction against enemies. How can he invade Qandhar and Herat?"[4]

The agent returned disappointed. Nasir Khan again sent his agent with instructions that he should first meet the Wazir and if he gave no satisfactory answer, he should then present himself before the Emperor.[5]

---

1. For the early life of Nadir Shah and his rise to power see:- Malleson, History of Afghanistan. Malcolom, History of Persia. Sykes, History of Persia. Bayan. Jahankushai.
2. Ashob, p. 274.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, p.275.
5. Ibid.

The agent managed to see the Emperor and explain the whole situation to him. The letter was read, and the Emperor entrusted the matter to Khan-i-Dauran. Next day the Amirul Umra came to the court, took the letter out of his pocket, read and laughed saying, " the old silly friends trouble the mind of the king by writing such abnoxious things." He convinced the courtiers and the Emperor of the absence of any danger to the security of India.[1]

It was favourable circumstances to Nadir" says Hanway, " that the Indian court had kept the mountaineers of the passes in arrears for their pay." Had they been regularly paid and now excited to fighting by more grants of money, Nadir Shah would have found very difficult to emerge into the Peshawar plain with a formidable army.[2][3]

Punjab was then in the charge of Zakariya Khan who had replaced his father Abdul Samad Khan in 1728. The governor was active and vigorous, just and beneficent, in conducting the provincial administration. Highways were protected against the depredations of the jats and the Goojars, out-posts were guarded, and villages and towns which had been devasted by the ravages of Sikhs were reinhabitated. Encouraged by the weakness of the central government he exercised absolute authority in the Punjab. He was honest and upright in his dealings, and his justice was proverbial, and was popular in

---

1. Ashob, p. 276-78.
2. Malleson, History of Afghanistan p. 269.
3. Mukhlis, f. 119(a).

the province. Being the nephew and son-in-law of Qamaruddin Khan, he was one of the strongest pillars of the Turani party, and hence was opposed and hated by Khan-i-Dauran, the leader of the Indian party.[1]

No help in money or men was provided by the dominant Khan-i-Dauran in the hour of imminent danger to the governor. In the words of Sarkar, " Thus, in the Emperor's hour of supreme need, factious jealousy and foolish distrust prevented any real attempt being made to repel the invader from the frontier, or even to check him there long enough to enable defensive preparations to be completed at Delhi and the army of the empire marshalled in the Punjab."[2]

The Real Motives of his Invasion.

The anonymous author of Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran, a stannch supporter of Khan-i-Dauran, has ascribed Nadir Shah's invasion to the invitation of Nizamul Mulk and Saadat Khan of Turani group.[3] This serious allegation has no basis. Fired with the passion of glory and the ambition of world conquest he resolved to supplant the degenerate monarchies of Asia. He conquered Armenia, Georgia, regained Persian provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea, recovered Bherain, and captured Qandhar and destroyed the Afghan power. Once in possession of Qandhar, the gateway to Afghanistan,he pushed ahead his operations with dash

---

1. Later Mughals - II, p. 325.
   Latif-History of Punjab, p. 193.
   M.U.II, pp. 326, II.
2. Later Mughals, p. 326, II.
3. Risalai, Khan-i-Dauran, f. 106(b), 107(b).
   Shakir, f.41(b).

and determination.

With the spoils of India he could utilize his military resources to overthorw other kingdoms and stablize the economy of Persia. Hanway correctly remarks: " It appears to me highly probable that Nadir did not stand in need of such instruments (i.e. the invitations of the Indians) for the execution of his ambitious designs."[1]

Sheikh Ali Hazim and Ghulam Husain have accused Muhammad Shah of lack of courtesy in not having felicitated Shah Thamasp II on his restoration and to drive out the Afghans who were taking refuge on the Indian border, inspite of the repeated appeals of Nadir Shah.[2]

Diplomatic relations between the Persian and Indian governments had continued even after the capture of Qandhar by Abbas II in 1649. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, Persian ambassador, Mir Murtaza, is reported to have been brought from the fort of Hugli and introduced in the court by Taqqarub Khan Mir Saman of Diwan-i-Khas. He was given a dress of honour, one lakh of rupees, and his companions also received suitable rewards.[3] Another ambassador Mirza Ismail, sent by Shah Husain to the court of Muhammad Shah was obliged to leave Delhi due to the changed conditions in his country.

The three ambassadors sent to Delhi by Nadir Shah, asking the Indian government to drive out the Afgan fugitives, were

---

1. Hanway, p. 142, Vol.IV, Lockart, p. 124.
2. Siyar. p. 479.
   Hazin. p. 263.
3. Miratul Haqiq, f. 84(b).

received with every mark of respect in the court. They were provided with princely comforts; lakhs of rupees in cash were given to them; and promises were made that necessary action would be taken against the Afghan refugees. Conditions at the court and the immediate danger from the Marathas so engrossed the attention of the Emperor that he could ~~not~~ take no effective steps against the Afghans. " This is highly probable, however, " says Lockhart that his expressed desire to punish the Afghans was only a pretext and that he had for sometime harboured the design of conquering India."[1]

Ali Mardan Khan was the first ambassador of Shah Thamasp to the Mughul Court. On the 20th Muharram 1150 (1737) he was introduced by Burhanul Mulk at the court, and honoured with rewards and valuable gifts by the Emperor.[2] In his letter the Shah of Persia had requested Muhammad Shah to prevent the passage into Indian territory of the Afghans who uprooted from Qandhar were fleeing thither. Muhammad Shah granted leave to the envoy to depart after giving one lakh of rupees and promising order the competent officers to guard the passes, but as his armies were engaged in fighting against the Marathas, he could not spare them for this purpose. Moreover Muhammad Shah wished not to risk a rupture with the Afghans who were his immediate neighbours. At the sametime he did not want to displeased Nadir Shah. His policy was that of watch and wait.

---

1. Lockhart p. 123.
2. Ashob. pp. 231-235.

After sometime Nadir sent a second messanger, Muhammad Ali Khan, with a similar request and the Delhi government replied in the same terms.[1]

When Nadir Shah was occupied in laying seige to Qandhar on the 11th Muharram 1150 (11th May, 1737) he despatched Muhammad Khan Turkoman to request the Indian Emperor to prevent Afghans, from retiring towards the Indian border. As soon as this envoy arrived at Shah Jahabad he delivered his letter and was told to wait, but for a long time nothing was done in this connection. Nadir Shah never felt satisfied with Muhammad Shah's promises nor convinced of the latter's difficulties in performing the work imposed on him. The fall of Qandhar and the defeat of the Afghans dangerously exposed India to the Persians.

The Invasion.

On the 21st May, 1738, Nadir Shah started from Nadirabad for Ghazna, and crossed the Indian frontier near Mukur.[2] The city was subdued without resistance, the governor having fled to Kabul, and prominent citizens offered homage to the new master. Before leaving Ghazna, he sent a message to the Kotwal of Kabul.[3] " We are not concerned with the kingdom of Muhammad Shah, but since the regions are like a mine of Afghans, and numbers of fugitives have also joined them, it is the intention

---

1. Ashob, pp.260-261
2. Jahan Kusha - p. 329.
3. Ibid.

to extripate these people. Be not anxious for your safety, but undertake the obligations of hospitality."[1] Nadir Shah marched on Kabul where he met the notable citizens in a cordial atmosphere. They had come in the form of deputation to offer submission, Nadir assuaged their fear by giving them robes of honour and presents.[2] But Sharza Khan and Rahim Dad Khan, the the commanders of the fort decided to resist the invader. The citadel was invested and after a seige of one week Kabul was captured on the 11th June, 1738, all the stores of arms, and other materials were seized by the victorious army.[3] After the capitulation of Kabul, Nadir sent another envoy accompanied by some prominent persons to Muhammad Shah. But when the party reached Jalalabad, their entry was disallowed by the local Faujdar. The agent and his nine guards were plundered and murdered by a neighbouring chieftain, the son of Mir Abbas.[4]

To avenge the death of the Persian embassy, a detachment was sent to storm Jalalabad. No resistance was offered to the Persian army in the town. Local officers having fled away, the citizens submitted to the army. The garrison was put to sword, and general massacre followed.[5] Nadir Shah advanced on 6th November, 1738, towards Peshawar.[6] It had been reported to

---

1. Hazin. p. 268.
2. Jahankusha p. 332. Mukhlis. f.118(a).
3. Hazin pp. 268-269.
   Bayan f. 10(b)
   Risala Khan-i-Dauran. f.101(a)
4. Jahankusha. pp.335-37., Hazin, p. 269. Siyar. p.481.
   According to Hazin one man survived the fury of an unruly mob, and effected his escape to report the matter to Nadir. He also writes that robes of honour for the murderers had been decided to be sent by the court of Muhammad Shah (p.270)
   This statement is not supported by others.
5. Hazin, p.270, Jahankusha, p 337, Siyar, p.481, T.M.p.325.
6. Mukhlis, f. 118(b), Jahankusha, p. 341, Shakir f.41(b).

to him that Nasir Khan had gathered a force of 20,000 Afghans and Kashmirs and was ready to resist the invading army at Khaibar pass.[1] Nadir Shah leaving his camp and baggage at Barkale (20 miles east of Jalabad) under Nasrullah Mirza set out in the after-noon of 14th November, and covering 48 miles he reached the Khaibar pass the next morning and delivered a sudden attack on the Indian army, ill-organised, ill-fed and ill-equipped. The wretched host soon melted away. Nasir Khan and his chief companions, after brief resistance for some hours, were made captive, while his entire baggage was seized.[2]

On 18th November the victorious army entered Peshawar as its citizens, demoralised by the defeat and the capture of their governor, had surrendered to Nadir Shah.[3] The country between Peshawar and Indus was ravaged by a Persian force under Aqa Muhammad. Nadir Shah left Peshawar on the 25th Ramazan (6th January, 1739).[4] At Kunja Mazra, he was opposed by an Indian army but in the encounter that ensued the Indian army was broken and hastily retreated.[5] Zakirya Khan who had come upto Shah Daula, 20 miles north of Lahore

---

1. Bayan. f. 10(b).
2. Jahankusha, p. 342., Lockhart, p. 128., Later Mughals, p. 330 (Sarkar Calculates 30 farsakus as 50 miles). Mukhlis, f. 188(b)., He fixes the place where Nadir was encamped between Ali Kasjid and Jamrud, 9 kos from Peshawar.
3. Jahankusha, p. 343., Mukhlis, f. 119(b)., Hazin, p.271-72., Ashob, p. 272., Siyar, p.481., T.M. p.326.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

returned to the city.[1] " Wazirabad, Imambad, and Gujrat, towns which, for population might almost be called cities were levelled with the ground. Nothing was respected no sort of violence remained unpractised, property of all kinds became the spoil of the plunder, and the women the prey of the ravisher."[2] At this stage, Abdul Baqi Khan, the Persian Wazir sent a letter to Zakariya Khan, who was reported to have raised fortifications at the bank of Ravi to resist Nadir Shah, advising him to surrender, promising high favours and lavish rewards and warning him of the consequences of resistance.[3] Zakariya Khan ignored this letter and decided to resist the invader. Nadir Shah, avoiding the direct road to Lahore marched eastward to out flank the Indian army, and crossed Lakodehar, after defeating a zamindar of Adinanagar, who with his contingent was going to join the governor.[4] On the bank of Ravi, on the same day, the Persian army came up close to that of the Indian, and a battle followed in which Zakariya Khan was repulsed with great slaughter; his soldiers fled away, while his son, Yahya Khan, cutting his way through the Persian ranks, left the field and marched towards Delhi.[5] On the next day, fighting was renewed, but, the governor realized that further resistance was fruitless. He sent Molvi Abdullah Rifyat Khan Kashmiri to Nadir Shah's camp to open regotiations for peace. Nadir Shah ordered Abdul Baqi Khan

---

1. Jahankusha, p. 343.
2. Mukhlis, f. 123(a).
3. Hazin, p. 274.
4. Ashob, p. 73.
5. Bayan, f. 10(b),
   Shah-i-Namah-i- Deccan, p. 295,
   T.M. p. 326.

to meet the governor and settle the terms. The latter presented himself before the conquerer. He was asked to pay twenty lakhs of rupees as indemnity.

On the 14th January the amount was presented to Nadir Shah. The Persian Emperor accepted the money and other presents most graciously. Zakariya Khan was rewarded with Chapkan of gold brocade, a jewelled dagger and a horse. The governorship was restored to him, and his son Hayatullah Khan Bahadur was granted a mansab of 5,000 in the Persian army.[1] Thus Lahore was saved from the horrors of massacre and spoliotion. Fakhra'd-Daula, the ex-governor of Kashmir who was living at that time in Lahore in distress was reinstated in his office, and was sent there with a force. Nasir Khan was also pardoned and confirmed as governor of Kabul and Peshawar.[2] He struck a gold coin at Lahore on the obverse of which was the inscription "Nadir the Sultan", and on the reverse "struck at the capital of Lahore, 1151, May God preserve his reign."[3] He lived in Lahore for twenty days and executed his affairs like a virtual sovereign of Hindustan.[4]

Before he left Lahore on his eastward march, he again addressed a letter to the Mughul Emperor accusing him of breach of promise and professing friendship and good will. He set out from Lahore on the 26th January, 1739, and marched to Sirhind which he was reached on 5th February.[5] From Sirhind

---

1. Mukhlis, f. 123(b), Hazin, p. 275.
2. Jahankusha, p. 344.
3. Latif, Tarikh-i-Punjan, p. 202.
4. Jahankusha, pp. 345-46.
5. Ibid.

he proceeded to Ambala via Raja Sarai, leaving his baggage and harem there, and, passing through Shahbad and Thanesar, he arrived on the 11th at Sarai Azimabad, 12 miles north of Karnal, where he learnt that Muhammad Shah had encamped himself.

At the Mughul court great confussion and indecesion prevailed.[1] Mutual jealousy prevented concerted action. Samsamu- Daulah, thought it to be the highest wisdom to postpone the matter as long as he could. Though he spoke the language of friendship in his daily meetings with Nizamul Mulk, he concealed his contempt, and sought to prevent the bestowal of the supreme command on him.[2] The Nizam affected cold indifference and withdrew himsel from expressing his own opinions in the Emperor's council.[3] He was suspected as being in league with Zakariya Khan who without effective resistance had tamely submitted to the invader. After seven months (July to December, 1739) of cowardly and foolish waste of time and only when Nadir Shah had crossed Khaiber pass (15th November) and entered Peshawar (18th November) that Nizamul Mulk, Khan-i-Dauran and the Wazir were ordered on 2nd December, 1738, to to proceed towards Punjab.[4] Preparations were now started on

---

1. According to Kitab-i-Nadri, by Muhammad Kazim (p.399-400), Muhammad Shah called all the qualanders, Dervesh, diviners and witches and asked them to make devices against the eney. The sooth-sayers and witches then busily prepared spells, and one wizard assured him that Nadir Shah would be brought bound hand and foot before the Emperor by the recitation of his spells.
2. Ashob, p. 284, Vol.II.
3. Ibid, p. 286, Vol.II
4. Shah Nama-i-Deccan, p. 294.
   Risala Khan-i-Dauran f.101(b)
   Shakir, f.41(b).
   Mukhlis, f.124(a)
   Hadsa-i-Nadir Shah, f.13(a), T.M. p. 286.

big scale. Farmans were issued to the governors, amirs, Rajas and other chieftains to flock to the royal standard with their contingents. The royal troops were given six months salary in advance and it was promised that the balance would be paid every month, and the bankers' dues cleared after the termination of war.[1]

The mansabdars and jagirdars, who were living in poverty and without work, were also summoned and money was given to them.[2] Khan-i-Dauran, wrote letters to Swai Jai Singh and other Rajput leaders to help the government at this juncture, but the chieftains in Rajputana, entangled in their own affairs, did not respond to the appeal.[3] Khan-i-Dauran who was proud of his friendship with Jai Singh and had supported him through thick and thin, blushed with shame on his betrayal in the hour of national crisis. Muhammad Shah called even Baji Rao to his aid.[4] The nobes[1] encamped themselves in the Shalimar garden outside Delhi, and remained there without work for more than one month. When news came that Attock had been crossed by the enemy they started on 10th January, 1739, " After urging the Emperor with one breath and extreme emphasis that he should join the army in person.[5]

On the 18th the Indian army reached Panipat, 55 miles

---

1. Ashob, p. 286. This whole amount in Shakir was equivalent to one Karore of rupees, f.41(b).
2. Ibid. p. 287, Vol.I.
3. Vir Vinod, p. 1154, Vol.II, part 3.
4. Raj, Vol.VI, No.130.
5. T.M. p. 326., Mukhlis f.124(a), Shah Nama-i-Deccan, p.296. Later Mughals, Vol.II, p.337.

north of Delhi. The Emperor also starting the same day joined his nobles nine days after on 27th at Panipat. The Emperor and his ministers selected Karnal, 20 miles north of Panipat as the field of battle; for the north it was protected by a thick jungle, on its eastern side flowed the Ali Mardan canal which could supply water in abundance, while its extensive area was suitable for cavalory manoeuvres.[1] Around the royal camp a mud wall was constructed and guns were mounted on it at some distance each to be guarded by five artillery soldiers. The wall was surrounded by a train of canon, round which a deep ditch was dug. The ditch was filled with water, and covered with trees to make it impassable. Within these fortifications the nobles erected their tents and stationed their troops. The arrangements were so elaborate that there appeared no difference between a battle field and a big city.[2] The camp covered an area of 12 miles,[3] containing one million souls, besides animals.[4]

The strength of the Persian army is calculated by J. Sarkar on the authority of Rustum Ali Khan at 55,000 horse.[5]

---

1. Mukhlis, f. 124(a)., Shah Nama-i-Deccan, p.296., Later Mughals, Vol.II, p. 337.
2. Mukhlis, f. 124(b).
3. Ashob, pp. 71-72, Vol.I.
4. Hanway, p. 364, Vol.II., Ashob (p.72) describes the circut 9 kos in area, while Fraser (p.152) says it 7 kos.
5. Later Mughals, p. 339, Vol.II. The strength of the Indian army given by principal authorities is as follows:-

Jahankusha	30,00,000	p.131.
Fraser	20,00,000	p.153.
Ashob.	50,00,000	besides 30,000 under different nobles excluding Saadat Khan, p.288,Vol.II.
Mukhlis	50,000	horsemen besides the personal contingents of the three nobles, f.125(a)
Rustum.	20,00,000	. An Eye Witness Account 29,000 T.H.C. p.359(Bombay 1947).

Nadir Shah's strategy was to avoid an attack on the Indian fortifications, and force the Emperor to fight in the open by making a vide detour in its eastern side. By this he further hoped to outflank the Mughul troops, cut their communications with Delhi, and, if the Emperor still remained cooped up within his entrenchment he would march on to Panipat and thence to Delhi.[1] On Monday morning (12th February) Nadir Shah moved out from Sarai Azimabad, and marching nine miles beyond the canal he encamped at a place, six miles north east of Karnal and a mile and half west of the Jumna, with the village of Kanjpura in the north.[2] The Shah with his bodyguard rode up close to the Indian camp, and after taking a review of the disposition of the enemy's army, he returned to his own camp.[3]

In the evening Nadir Shah was informed that Saadat Khan had arrived at Panipat with 30,000 men to join the Emperor.[4] To obstruct his further march, a strong column was sent by the Shah.[5] Saadat Khan, however, reached Karnal on the mid night of 12th February, but his baggage was plundered by the Persians, and 500 loaded camels were carried away by them.[6]

---

1. Jahankusha, p. 348.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
4. Jahankusha, p. 200.
   Tarikh-i-Muzaffari gives the number as 60,000 horse, p.327. In accordance to the royal commands Saadat Khan had started in the third week of January, 1739, leaving Abul Man incharge of Oudh, and after covering a journey of over 450 miles by the last week of February, he reached Karnal. He was received by Khan-i-Dauran a mile in advance by the orders of the Emperor. Srivastava. pp. 60-61.
6. Jahankusha, p. 200.
   The author of Risalai Khan-i-Dauran writes that Burhanul Mulk had already informed the Shah of his arrival. It is wrong, f. 106(b).

The next morning the Oudh governor was received in audience by the Emperor. He was still busy in discussing the plans of offensive with other governors in the presence of the Emperor, when news of the disaster to his straggling force were conveyed to him.[1] Agitated he resolved to cast his sword in the scale, despite the warning of Nizamul Mulk and Khan-i-Dauran. He was advised by them to wait, allow his troops to assemble, take rest after this exhaustion, and prepare for fighting.[2]

Paying no heed to their words of prudence and caution, he took a hurried leave of the Emperor, and with one thousand horse and a few hundred foot who were in attendance on him, he came out of the imperial tents, mounted on an elephant, sent heralds to announce that he was going to fight the Persians, and without artillery, he rushed on the enemy. He was, however, joined by 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot. The Persian army, in order to decoy him, feigned flight; they were chased and followed but in this action he got two miles away from his camp. The ruse succeeded, and the impatient warrior, on whose bravery the Mughuls had set much store, fell in the trap.[3] Urgent appeals

---

1. Harcharan Das, f. 82(a)., T.M. p. 382., Shah Namai Deccan, p.301., Ashob, p.97., In this meeting it had been decided that the Mughul forces would launch offensive on the next day, and the Emperor would also go to the field of battle.
2. Ibid. Specially Asaf Jah tried his utmost to disuade him from that rash step. He addressed in affectionate words like.
3. Mukhlis, f. 125(b).
   Bayan, f. 11(b).
   Har Charan Dass, f.83(a).
   Shah Nama-i-Deccan, p.306.

for reinforcement were sent by him to the Emperor. In response to the royal summons, the Mughul commander-in-chief set out from his position with 8,000 to 9,000 cavalory, and made a haphazard plunge into the arena of war.[1] Nadir Shah who sighed for such a day, donned coat of mail and a helment, placed, 3,000 men in ambush, sent out two bodies of gunners, each five hundred strong, and putting himself at the head of 1,000 picked Afshar horsemen rode out to fight the Mughuls.

The first shot was fired at one O'clock, and by five O'cloc in the evening the Indian front was smashed, and gloomy silence prevailed there. Saadat Khan was made prisoner and Khan-i-Dauran defeated and wounded escaped to his camp. The carnage was unparalled and the destruction of artillery, war equipage, stores and baggage unbounded.[2]

Causes of the Indian defeat.

Ashob comments on the disunity among the nobles in the face of great national danger. If there had been amity among the chiefs, and sincere attempts were made to rescue of Saadat Khan and Dhan-i-Dauran, the Indian army might have fared better

---

1. Ashob, p. 102.
2. Hazin, p. 278., Bayan, f.12(b)., Mukhlis, ff.126(b),127(a), T.M. p.329., Harcharan Dass, f.85(b)., Shah Nama-i-Deccan p. 329- according to Ijad, Samsamu Daulah was taken as prisoner to Nadir Shah's camp., Fathiya, f.51(a) The terrible disaster suffered by the Indians brought ears in the eyes of Muhammad Shah.
   Ashob pp. 108-9.

They put personal emmity above patriotism. Asafh Jah told the couvier sent by Muhammad Shah. " What ever the king likes, he utters, but understands no arts of war. The stupid fellows went on the compaign without order and discipline, and by their folly ruined a force of 40,000. What has happened to them? What disaster has fallen on them? Why have they became so nervous and confused in a short time? For the assistance of forty thousand there should be an army of forty lakhs, which he is unable to bring forth." He then asked for a cup of cofee and burst into laughter.[1]

The soldiers were ready to fight in the national cause.[2] Had the Emperor been a warrior himself, and not dependent on his generals, the Indian soldiery under his banner could have died to a man to preserve the honour of their profession, and the prestige of their master.

Besides the mutual animosties of the nobles, there was no unity of command, and no combination in movements. Both Saadat Khan and Khan-i-Dauran marched in confusion and disorder, no attempt was made to collect all their troops, marshall them in proper battle array, and equip them with artillery.[3] They had no information about the disposition of the Persian army,

---

1. Bayan, f. 12(a)
   Harcharan Dass, f.83(b).
2. Ashob, p.94 Vol.I. The soldiers were cursing their commanders for not leading them to the battlefield. They condemned and laughed on Asaf Jah who, having fought all his life in the Deccan, was inactive at this moment. The characteristic remark of Nadir Shah about the Indian was: " they know how to die but not how to fight." Rustum Ali. Elliot, p. 62, Vol.VIII.
3. Ashob, p. 95, Vol.I.

or of its strength. They moved in haste from their camps, but when they came to close quarter with the enemy, panic seized them. The Indians had relied on swordsmanship and their elephants. On the other hand the Persians equipped with fire arms, used their weapons with deadly effect. As Abdul Karim has remarked " An arrow cannot answer a bullet."[1] The Indian troops suffered heavy losses. " In order to baffle the elephants, on which the Indians mostly relied for effect, he caused a number of platforms to be made and fixed each across two camels. On these platforms he liad naphtha a mixture of combustibles with orders to set them on fire during the battle. The elephants were sure to fall away at sight of the quickly approaching fire and put the Indian army behind them in disorder."[2]

Aftermath.

Consternation fell on the Indian camp when wounded survivors and panic-stricken soldiers beat a precipitate retreat and communicated the tragic story of the disastrous conflict to their fellows. Nizamul Mulk with his army moved a little forward to resist the Persians if they advanced to attack the royal camp; but seeing no trace of them he advanced further, crossed the canal and stood in a battle array. Muhammad Shah followed by the Wazir also joined him after a short time.[3]

---

1. Bayan. f.12(b) Muhammad Muhsin Siddiqi, author of Jauhar Samlam, describes the havoc wrought by the Persian artillery in the columns of Khan-i-Dauran in these words:" The heavy shower of arrows and the hail-storm of bullets, with the violent petting of their fall, caused the torrent of death to sweep away the fabric of a multitude of living forms, and despatched to the sea of perdition a whole host of the ever victorious army under the command of Amirul-Umra Samsamu-Daulah, successful in both words". (Elliot, p.74,Vol.VIII).
2. Later Mughals, p. 346, Vol.II.
3. Ashob, pp.112-113.

By this time night had fallen, and light of candles did not help the Indians to see the approach of the enemy, though the thunder of artillery continued creating tumult. When it became very late, Asaf Jah ordered the drums of victory to be beaten to announce that Burhanul Mulk after defeating the Persians had come to the King. Upon this the royal army returned to its headquarters, and the Emperor retired to his camp. The whole night was passed in a state of tension.[1] Nadir Shah, who was contented with the first fruits of his success, did not accept the challenge. His aim was to compel the Mughul Emperor to accept his demands of money, and not to overthrow his kingship. Instead of coming to blows with Nizamul Mulk, Nadir Shah summoned Saadat Khan into his presence and remarked, " You are my fellow-countryman and fellow beliver. Advise me how can I get a ransom from your Emperor and the troops to go home, so that I may defeat the Sultan of Turkey." He replied that he should open negotiations with Nizamul Mulk.[2]

On the following day Nizamul Mulk was called by the Shah to pay a visit to him.[3] Muhammad Shah reluctantly allowed

---

1. Ashob, pp. 114-118.
2. Harcharan Das, f.86(a).
3. Harcharan Das, f.86(a), Ashob, p.124 Vol.I) says that first Mir Hasan was sent by the Shah to Nizamul Mulk, and the terms had been settled with him, agreeable to the Emperor when he (the Nizam) went to the Persian camp. Hasan Ijad on the other hand says that it was on the suggestion of Asaf Jah that Muhammad Shah sent a letter seeking peace to Nadir Shah, Shah Nameh-i-Deccan p.336. The author of Tarikh-i-Muzaffari writes that Burhanul Mulk had disclosed the plans of defence of the Indian army. The ministers argued with the Emperor on the need of peace, as fighting at that stage would bring only disaster. Persuaded by them Muhammad Shah went to meet the Shah. T.M. p.334.

the Nizam to leave him alone.[1] The Nizam was received well in the Persian camp. After long talks it was agreed that Nadir Shah would leave India, and the Mughul Emperor would pay 50 lakhs as war indemnity, out of which 20 were to be paid then and there, 10 lakhs when Nadir Shah reached Lahore, 10 lakhs at Attock, and the remaining 10 lakhs at Kabul. Nadir Shah sent with him an invitation to the Emperor to dine with him.[2] The next day Muhammad Shah accompanied by Asaf Jah, the Wazir and Ishaq Khan went to the Persian camp, where he was first received by Prince Nasrullah, and then by Nadir Shah, who holding his hand, conducted him into the tent. Both sat together, talked in a friendly manner. After several hours the party returned to its camp.[3]

Khan-i-Dauran had died, on the 15th February[4] and Muhammad Shah bestowed the office of Amirul Umra on Asaf Jah, to avoid a dispute between Firoz Jung and Azimullah, his own son, and

---

1. Harcharan Das, f.86(a), (b).
   Nizamul Mulk was the last hope on whom Muhammad Shah had relied for safety. Now when he was called by the Shah, the Emperor grew nervous. He feared some treachery. But Asaf Jah replied. "Quran (which has been sent by Nadir Shah) is between us. If there is treachery, God will answer it. Then your Majesty should retreat to Mandu or some other strong fort, summon Nasir Jung from the Deccan with a strong force and fight the Persians."
2. Harcharan Das, f. 87, according to Ashob one Karore of rupees were fixed, p. 131.
3. Ashob, pp 141-147., Mukhlis, f. 130(a)(b)., Bayan, f.14(a), T.M. p. 336., Shah Nameh-i-Deccan, pp.345-347.
4. Mukhlis, f.128(a),
   Siyar.

and the son of his brother.[1] Burhanul Mulk, who had expected that his services would be rewarded, now became jealous of the Nizam. In order to damage his fortunes, he decided to have recourse to treachery. In his next meeting with the Shah, he excited his cupidity saying that if the later went to Delhi, 20 karors of rupees in cash and jewels and other valuable articles would be secured.[2] Accordingly Nadir Shah summoned the Nizam and detained him. He was asked to pay 20 Karors of rupees as war indemnity and provide 20,000 troops to serve under him as auxiliaries. Asaf Jah was bewildered at the new development and pleaded for moderation saying, since "The foundation of the Chaghtai dynasty upto now 20 karors of rupees had never been amassed in the imperial treasury. Shah Jahan, with all his efforts, had accumulated only 16 Karors, but the whole of it had been spent by Aurangzeb in his long wars in the Deccan, at present even 50 lakhs are not left in the treasury."[3]

Nadir Shah's greed was not satisfied. He urged the Nizam to call his master to the camp so that matters could be settled with him. The Nizam wrote a letter to Muhammad

---

1. T.M. p. 336. Asaf Jah requested the Emperor to appoint his son Firoz Jung as Amirul Umra. But Azimullah Khan, the son of Qamaruddin objected the appointment saying, " I am older than Firoz Jung, why has the post of Bakshi been conferred on Firoz Jung, while I am available." Azimullah, in despair, fled from the camp to join the Persians. The Nizam and the Wazir followed him and brought back to the camp. Harcharan Das. f. 88(a).
2. Harcharan Das. f. 88(a), Jauhar-i-Samsam, p. 75, Elliot, Vol.VIII, Ashob, p. 155, Vol.I, T.M. p. 336, Shah Nameh-i-Deccan p. 350.

Shah describing the exact state of affairs.[1] Brought under the pressure of an imperative necessity, Muhammad Shah decided to obey the orders of the victor. ~~coute~~. When he arrived at the Persian camp, he was made a captive, with the nobles who had followed him. On the next day 25th February, his whole harem was taken away from Karnal, and his quarter was fixed close to the Shah's tents. Qamaruddin was also brought with the imperial artillery, and put under guard. It was announced in the Mughul camp that soldiers and civilians could either stay at Karnal or proceed to their homes.[2] " They were like sheep left without a shepherd, surrounded by wolves." They now broke up and found security in flight; but in course of their escape they were harassed by robbers, and roving bodies of Qizilbash cavalory.[3]

The seizure of gold in the royal palace required the occupation of Delhi first. He sent Saadat Khan and Tahmasp Khan Jalayir, his own plenipotentiary, with an escort of 4,000 cavalry to take possession of the capital.[4] Lutfullah Khan, the governor of the city, was asked both by Nadir Shah in his

---

1. T.M. p. 336.
   Harcharan Das, f. 89(a).
2. Ashob, p. 159.
   Mukhlis, f.131(b),
   Shah Nameh-i-Deccan, p. 356.
   Harcharan Das, f. 89(a)
   T.M.p.336.
   An Eye Witness Account pp.359-60 (I.H.C.Bombay 1947).
3. Later Mughals, p. 359, Vol.II.
   Ashob, p.157.
   T.M. p.337.
   Mukhlis, f.131(b)
4. Ashob, p.161 - others who had accompanied them were Shyer Jung, Azimullah Khan, Zahir-ud-Daulah.
   Mulhlis, f.132(a)., Harcharan Das. f. 89(b),
   Shah Nameh-i-Deccan p. 360.
   T.M. p.337. An Eye Witness Account, p. 360.

letter, and by Muhammad Shah in his farman addressed to him, to hand over the keys of the fort to them, maintain peace and order in the city, cansole the people, and guard the royal prisoners.[1] Satisfied with their arrangements, Nadir Shah followed by Muhammad Shah started from Karnal on the Ist of March, and encamped in the Shaliamar gardens outside Delhi on the 7th March. Saadat Khan who was working as Wakil-ul-Mutlaq, and Lutfullah Khan, offered their homage to their new master in the garden. Nadir Shah in return for his services invested the Khan with the coat he was waring, as a mark of high honour.[2] Muhammad Shah took leave on the 8th from the Shah for the palace to make preparations for his welcome. The next day Nadir Shah himself entered the city and occupied Shah Jahan's palace-chambers near the Diwan-i-Khas, while Muhammad Shah lodged near the Deorhi of the Asad Burj.[3]

The tenth March was the festival day of the Indu-z-zuha and Nauroz.[4] That day Khutba was read and coins were struck in his name.[5] In the evening a meeting was held between Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah in which the Persian Emperor restored

---

1. Shakir, f. 44(a)(b).
2. T.M. p. 338., Mukhlis, f.132(a)., Shah Namah-i-Deccan,p.366. Ashob, p. 163., Bayan f. 14(b)., Harcharan Das. f.89(b), Shakir, f.47(a).
3. Jhankusha, p. 355., Hazin. p. 379.,
4. Shah Namah-i-Deccan, p.372.
5. Ashob, p.161. The coins bore the following inscription: " The Sultan over the Sultans of the Earth is Nadir the King of Kings, Lord of the fortunate conjunction." p.164. Fraser also emntions this coin with this wording in the obverse: on the reverse was written (May Allah cause his kingdom to admire; struck at Ahmadabad, in 1152 H. Fraser, p.120.
5. Jahankusha, p. 355.

the crown of India, by virtue of the treaty concluded at Karnal, to Muhammad Shah, and accepted, though with feigned reluctance, all the royal treasures and jewels, offered by the later.[1] That very day Saadat Khan was reported to have committed suicide.[2]

Though Muhammad Shah had been restored, Nadir Shah was in possession of the city. His police was controlling the market and supervising the activities of the people. The Persian police and soldiers were imposing the rule of Nadir Shah and treating the citizens sternly.[3] The price of wheat had been fixed at ten seers per rupee, but the corn dealers of Pharganj dissatisfied with the price, resisted the efforts of the Persian police in forcing them to abide by the order.[4]

For their assistance they appealed to the people who

---

1. Jahankusha, p. 355.
2. According to Rustum Ali Khan Nadir Shah had up-braided Saadat and Nizamul Mulk in a very harsh language for their delinquency in not exacting the amount of money as they had promised from the city. The Nizam told to Saadat Khan, that they were insulted, and it was better to die rather than to be executed by Nadir Shah. " After this, that chief of deceivers went to his house, and, having expressed his will to his relations, drank a cup of water mixed with sugar, covered himself with a sheet and went to sleep. Burhanul Mulk who was true soldier and was not aware of his perfidity as as soon as he heard of this, drank a cup of poison, and went to the next world."
   Rustum Ali (Elliot pp.64-65).
   Muhammad Muhsin Siddiqi, author of Jauhar Shamsam also supports this statement but does not mention the name of Asaf Jah as the deceiver. Srivastava, pp.71-72.,
   Sarkar, later Mughals, p. 364, Vol.II., Ashob, p.165. Other contemporary authorities have given the chronic pain in his leg now developed by wounds as the cause of his death-Bayan, f.14(b), Eye Witness Account, p. 360; Fathyiya,f.54(a).
3. Harcharan Das. f. 90(a)., Shah Namah-i-Deccan p.372.
4. Hanway p. 375, Vol.II.
   Later Mughals, p. 366, Vol.II.

attacked and killed the foreigners.[1] Moving from that ward, they spread throughout the city, killing and seizing the Persians who were carelessly wandering in the streets and lanes. Emboldened by the rumours of Nadir Shah's death by a Qalmaq woman guard on the orders of Muhammad Shah, crowds of lowmen, armed with their own weapons, joined the disturbers of peace.[2] None had the wisdom to check the disorder or verify the rumour.[3] As a result, according to Abdul Karim, 3,000 Persians were killed in the disturbance.[4]

Nadir Shah first declined to believe that slaughter of his soldiers was in progress in the city, but when two persons were sent by him to bring the authentic report and they were killed, he became furious and on the next morning he ordered a general massacre of the people of Delhi. The dreadful carnage commenced at 9 A.M. and stopped at about 2 P.M.[5]

Twenty thousand persons of every age and sex were butchered most mercilessly; hundred of the women were ravished, and led into captivity, while hundreds of them committed suicide by drowning themselves into wells. Beautiful villas and mansions of the nobles were set on fire, and razed to the ground and

---

1. Hanway, p. 375, Vol.II.
   Later Mughals, p. 360, Vol.II.
2. T.M.p. 340., Bayan, f.14(b)., Mukhlis f.131(b)., Harcharan Das f.90(b)., Any Eye Account (p.360) says that Nadir Shah died of Cholera.
3. Ashob, p. 167., Shah Namah-i-Deccan, p.373.
4. Hazin, p. 280.
5. Bayan, f.14(b)., An Eye Account, 100 Persian were killed, p. 360.
   Hazin, 7,000, p.280.
   Fraser, 4,000, p.185.

and thousand of shops were looted.[1] All the roads in Chandni Chowk, Lahorigate, Fathepuri, Kothparcha, Faiz Bazar, Kabli Darwaza, Idgah, Ajmeri gate, Hauz Qazi, Johri Bazar, were covered with ghastly heaps of corpses.[2] Hundreds of Saiyids, learned persons, Hafiz, poets, pious men, writers, devotees, doctors and wisemen were killed.[3] Even the Great Mosque, where thousands of women, children and aged had joined other devotees, teachers and students, was attacked, and all human beings inside were put to death.[4] The Muslims performed the ceremoney of Jauher Killing their women and children with their own hands.[5]

Amidst scenes of slaughter and arson, Nizamul Mulk and the Wazir went to the mosque of Roshan-u-Daulah, where Nadir Shah was sitting with his unsheathed sword to beg for mercy. The tyrant ~~xixes~~ relented and blood-shed was stopped.[6] But the doomed city was not to be left without being bled white. Anand Ram Mukhlis describes how the helpless people were squeesed of their wealth. " Accountants were appointed to levy the indemnity from the inhabitants, under the guidance of Tahmasp Khan Jaliyar. But in order to save the citizens from utter ruin, nobles of both the governments were directed to supervise

---

1. Later Mughals, p. 369, Vol.II.
2. Ashob, p. 174.
3. Shah Namah-i-Deccan, p. 380.
4. Ibid. p.382.
5. Fathiya. f.54(b).
6. Shah Namah-i-Deccan, p. 386.

the assessment of the ransom in the law-court in the presence of the public. Footmen (piadas) of the kotwal and Nasaqchis (military police of Persia) were sent to take a census of the houses and prepare lists of the property in each and enforce appearance of the citizens, so that the sum to be contributed by each individual might be in accordance with his means. Helpless people, high and low, rich and poor, were compelled day after day to attend the law-court where they were kept from dawn to sun-set and often till night. The lists were prepared. The contribution of the capital totalled two karors of rupees. The Shah appointed the Nizam, the wazir, Azimullah Khan, Sarbuland Khan and Murtaza Khan to collect the money. The entire city was divided into five section, and lists of the different localities with the names of their inhabitants and the amount to be leiyed from each were given to these five nobles."[1]

In the collection of money no barbarities were spared. The tax imposed was strictly exacted. Large contributions were leiyed from the nobles and the governors of the provinces, and were forced to pay without delay.[2] From royal palace nearly 15 karors of rupees in cash, jewels, and stores were obtained. The Shah also took possession of the Peacock throne, Koh-i-nur

---

1. Mukhlis, f.136(b).
2. Hanway, p.382, Vol.II.
   Fraser, p. 199.
   Later Mughals, p. 373, Vol.II.

diamond and other crown-jewels.[1] Besides this, Mirza Nasrullah his younger son, was married to the daughter of Dawar Bakhsh the grandson of Murad, and great-grandson of Shah Jahan.[2]

---

1. Ashob, p. 202.
   Mukhlis, f.136(b). Those who paid money were left. But others who had nothing and were starving were beaten, exposed to outrage, their belongings were looted. They to save their honour took poison or stabbed themselves to death. Many families were ruined in this way.
2. Mukhlis, f.135(b) and f.147.
   Bayan, f. 16(b).
   Hanway, p. 383, Vol.II.
   Later Mughals, pp. 371-72.

Ascendency of Persian Faction in the Imperial Court.

Nadir Shah's invasion completely shattered the Mughul empire. Besides the large-scale massacre of soldiers at Karnal and of civilians in Delhi, the exaction of more than a hundred million of rupees including Peacock throne, Kohi-i-Nur, crown jewels, elephants, horses, camels and other precious articles, the Trans-Indus provinces were annexed, exposing the empire to foreign attacks. This overwhelming calamity altered the whole life of Northern India. The imperial solidiery was scattered and the nobles were impoverished, the people were reduced to a state of beggary, and all civil institutions were paralysed.

The desperate extremety to which Muhammad Shah was reduced by Nadir's invasion spurred him to repair the ravages of this catastrophe. He adopted white simple attire and associated himself with Muslim and Hindu saints.[1] Nature took pity on the famine-stricken people by timely rains and plentiful crops brought down the ever-rising prices of corn.[2]

On 13th May, 1739, Muhammad Shah held his first public darbar, and appointed Amir Khan, son of Mir Khan I, Mir-i-Miran, governor of Kabul in the reign of Alamgir, to the post of the third Bakshi, with a mansab of 6 hazari and the title of Umadul Mulk.[3] On 18th May, Muhammad Ishaq Khan, a petty officer in the

---

1. Hadsa-i-Nadir Shah, f.3(b)., Fathiya, f.48(a)., Jauhar-i-Samsam (Elliot, p.73, Vol.VIII).
2. Ashob, p.232. Hasan Ijad, Writer of Shah Namah-i-Deccan, says that the prices of grain were one and half seer per rupee in Delhi, during the invasion of Nadir Shah.
3. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah, f.2(a,b), Mir Waliullah, (Tarih-i-Farkhabad pp.103,106., T.M. p.240.

imperial artillery, was raised to the post of Diwan of crown-lands, with the rank of 6 hazari and the title of Mutam-ud-Daulah; after seven months (8th November) he received the highest insignia of honour, i.e. Mahi Maratib. On 21st May, Danishmand Khan was posted as Khan-i-Saman, and on 3rd June Asad Yar Khan, as Darogha of Harkaras, the Postmaster General and the head of intelligence department.[1] Shaafatullah Khan, son of Muir Khan, was replaced by Azimullah Khan as Sadar. Abdul Mansur Khan and Sarfraz Khan were granted the subedari of Oudh and Bengal respectively.[2]

The task of raising a new army of 10,000 strong was entrusted to Asad Yar Khan, by the Emperor.[3] The monthly salary of a horseman was fixed as fifty rupees; the horse was to be branded with the mark of the sword, and hence the corpe was called as 'Shamshir Dagh'. But the revenues were found insufficient to meet the expenses of the newly-raised troops; and, the Emperor and his ministers, as a result, decided to disband half of the army for the season.[4]

The Emperor according to Ashob would have succeeded in his attempts to improve the general state of affairs, had there not arisen a new faction opposed to the old Turani party. This

---

1. Delhi Chronicle, p. 81.
2. T.M.p.240. Other minor appointments are given by Ghulam Husain, (p.486). Murtaza Khan was made Mir Tuzak; Naimatullah Khan, Karwal Beg, Hadi Ali Khan brother of Amir Khan, Darogha of elephants, Salabat Khan, Bakshi of royal bodyguards, Azimullah Khan, Head of mace-bearers, Head of Qarkhana, Tarbiat Khan.
3. Asad Yar Khan belonged to Agra. On the recommendation of Amir Khan he was raised to a mansab of 5 hazari, and the office of Harkaras on 3rd June, 1739. Harcharan Das, p.66.
4. Ibid.pp.65-66.

This consisted of Indo-Iranian Shias whose ancestors had migrated to India and held posts of honour and confidence in the Mughul government.[1] Its members were Ishaq Khan and Asad Yar Khan, headed by Amir Khan Umdatul Mulk, all distinguished by their eloquence, culture and affability of manners and expert conspirators. With the single exception of Safdar Jung all detested the profession of arms, shunned the honest discharge of state business, and occupied themselves in vainglorious pursuits and pleasures and used their urbanity and suavity of manners for political influence. Amir Kha, the head of this group was neither a soldier nor an administrator, but a dancer and a debauch. Handsome and attractive, Amir Khan resembled in his dress and manners a female.[2] These qualities secured for him absolute domination over the Emperor's corrupt mind. To strengthen his position further he introduced at the court other persons with similar tastes and habits. Muhammad Ishaq Khan and Asad Yar Khan were his creatures and depended on his support; they grew powersul, and became the keepers of the Emperor's conscience. Having acquired boundless influence over the Emperor, Amir Khan attempted to keep his puppet in a state of helplessness by ousting his powerful riva Qamruddin Khan and Nizamul Mulk, the leaders of the Turani party, from the court. Muhammad Shah, who had of late become suspicious of their loyalty on account of the delinquency they had shown

---

1. Harcharan Das, pp. 207-208.
   T.M. p. 244.
2. Shah Namah-i-Deccan, pp. 427-426.

in the battle of Karnal, approved the idea of dismissing Qamruddin and appointing Amir Khan in his place.[1] But the conspiracy was unmasked, and the Wazir sought the help of his cousin Asaf Jah who lay encamped outside Delhi about to march to Deccan where urgent business awaited him.[2]

On his advice, the Wazir joined Asaf Jah and sent his resignation to the Emperor. " I have committed no mistake, but the Emperor had become ill-disposed towards me by the wrong reports of selfish persons. I had no intention to be disloyal nor do I at present think in these terms. But I am going with Asaf Jah to Deccan."[3] Muhammad Shah found himself in dilemma and sought the advice of Ishaq Khan whom he considered more faithful than Amir Khan. Ishaq Khan after great hesitation replied that the Wazir and the Amirul Umra should not be dismissed from their posts as they were old nobles and commanded respect and obedience of all the people, while Amir Khan and others were newly raised peers and lacked the ability for such positions. The Emperor called Amir Khan and told him.[4] " It is not wise to antagonise the Turani nobles who have such absolute powers. The best policy is to conciliate them. You, out of loyalty to me, should refrain from doing anything that may excite their anger or hostility."[5] Amir Khan a coward at heart reconciled himself to the humuliation. He was sent with his two wrists tied ~~with~~

---

1. Siyar, p. 486., Ashob, p. 232., Bayan, f.60(b).
2. Ashob, p. 232.
3. Siyar, p. 487.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

like a culprit, to Asaf Jah authorising the latter to inflict any punishment on him which he deserved.[1] Asaf Jah, not considering him his equal forgave him and said, " now that differences have arisen between you and the Wazir, it is best that you should go away from the court to your province of Allahabad for sometime.[2] Amir Khan hesitated and it was only after four months that he left for Allahabad and Nizamul Mulk set out for Deccan (27th July, 1740).[3]

Ishaq Khan had died on 18th April, 1740,[4] and with his death and the removal of Amir Khan, the Wazir now regained his position and the influence of the Persians waned. But Amir Khan, when living at Allahabad, was ever looking for an opportunit to regain the favour of Muhammad Shah, and repair his fortunes. The opportunity came when the eastern province were involved in Maratha aggressions.

In the meantime Amir Khan had developed friendship with Safdar Jung,[5] the governor of Oudh, and the sword-arm of the Persian Shia party.[6] Safdar Jung, unlike other courtiers of Muhammad Shah, was indeed a capable general and administrator, he had built up his military strength with labour and liberality,

---

1. Ashob, p. 233.
2. Ashob, p. 233., Siyar, p.487., Bayan, f.60(b)., T.M.p.257.
3. T.M. p. 257.
4. Delhi Chronicle p. 80.
5. See for his early life. Srivastava's First Two Nawabs of Oudh.
6. Sarkar, p. 13.

raising an army of six to seven thousand Qizilbashs, well equipped well paid and well trained.[1]

Amir Khan wrote to the Emperor, " Now that Aliwardi, the slayer of his master[1], is entangled with the Marathas, and has no force to spare, if you order Safdar Jung he will easily conquer that province for you. Safdar Jung is a loyal servant and will pay you the tribute of the province every year.[2]

Muhammad Shah atonce agreed to this proposal and issued a farman asking him to accept this undertaking for which he was granted Chunar and Rohtas.[3] " The Oudh Subedar marched into Bihar, causing more alarm than relief to the people, whom he came professedly to rescue.[4] He returned back to his province without doing anything for the Bengal governor, as the latter had himself defeated Bhaskhar Pant (October, 1742), the leader of the Maratha invaders. Aliwardi Khan on the other hand was dissatisfied with the whole affair.[5] As a reward for the fruitless march into Patna, the post of Mir Atash, held by Hafizuddin, the son Saduddin Khan, and a protage of Itamadu Daulah was conferred on Safdar Jung on 16th March, 1744.[6] Amir Khan continued his machination to undermine the influence of his rival. " In his insange pride, he acted as if he had already become his master's master and a

---

1. Ashob, p. 233.
2. Imad, p. 33.
3. Srivastava p. 95.
4. Sarkar, p. 20.
5. Srivastava, pp. 97-98.
6. Siyar, p. 487.
   Biyan, f. 60(b)
   Ashob, p. 234.
   T.M. p. 257.
   Harcharan Das, p.72.

king-making Wazir like Saiyid Husain Wazir. He began to press his advice and demands upon the Emperor with disrespectful vehemence and to treat the other nobles with contempt as no better than the noble."[1]

Provoked by this over bearing attitude, the Emperor, to break off his bandage, got Amir Khan murdered through one Roze Afzur Khan, a devoted eunuch, whom the latter wanted to dismiss (25th December, 1746).[2]

THE INVASION OF AHMAD SHAH ABDALI.

The murder of Nadir Shah by the Qizilbash chiefs at a place near Kuchan on 9th June, 1747, opened a new chapter in the history of Afghanistan. The chief acter who now appeared on the stage was Ahmad Khan Abdali,[3] who can rightly be called the father of modern Afghanistan, as it was he who, for the first time created a separate Afghan political entity by breaking the Persian bondage, Nadir Shah had imposed on them. The Afghan soldiers in an hour of eminent danger, as they were surrounded by their rivals, elected Ahmad Khan as their leader on June 12, 1749, and gave him the tilte of Badshah Durrani-Dauran, " king, the Pearl of the Age."[4] Just after his election, Ahmad Khan at the head of some three to four thousand Afghans

---

1. Sarkar, p. 22.
2. Harcharan Das, f.60(b), Delhi Chronicle, p. 85,
3. Tarikhi-Ahmad Shahi, f. 2.b., Tarikhi-i-Sultani, p. 121. Ferrier, pp. 90-93. Malleson,
4. Tarikh-i-Ahmad, p. 5,6., Tarikh-i-Sultani, pp.122-123., Saulat-i-Afghani pp. 341-43., Ferrier, pp. 68-69., Malleson., p. 273,275, Shah Nama Ahmedia alias Zafar Nama, ff.14.15. Delhi Chronicle. p. 86.

who were then with him proceeded towards Herat, but finding his strength not enough to reduce the place, he marched on strainght to Wandhar which he wanted to conquer as early as possible.[1] Having arrived at Qandhar he announced the news of Nadir Shah's death and his own election as the chief of Afghans. He then seized a treasure of two Karors of rupees Nasir Khan had brought for Nadir Shah on whose behalf he was acting as governor of Kabul. The great liberality he displayed by distributing its contents among his men secured for him their royalty and helped in bringing other Afghan chiefs to his standard.[2]

Ahmad Khan[3] advanced upon the city of Qandhar. The aged citizens paid their homage, and the governor with his associates, who had plotted to kill him by treachery, were put to death.[4] Once the master of Qandhar, Ahmad Khan found himself firmly established as the king of the Afghans. He was formally crowned in the mosque

---

1. Husain Shahi, pp. 14-15., Tarikh-i-Ahmad p. 5.
2. Ibid. Tarikh-wa-Sawaneh Afghanistan, p. 15, Tarikh-i-Sultani, p.123., Bayan, f.66(a)., Farrier, p. 70., Malleson, pp.275-76., Sykes, in his history of Persia (370) says that among the jewels seized on this occasion was the famous diamond known as the Koh-i-nur. But does not seem to be correct.
3. Ahmad Khan, the son of Zaman Khan and grand son of Daulat Khan belonged to the Seddozai sub division of the Abadalis. He was probably born in about 177-at Multan where his mother had come from Herat (Akhbar Husain, p.11). When Nadir Shah conquered Qandhar he was taken along with his brother as captive, but later on released. The Shah took him along with him on his Indian expedition as his personal attendant. He was next made the commander of Abdali contingent in the service of Nadir Shah. Nadir Shah had high regard for him, and used to say, " I have not found in Iran, Turan or Hind any man equal to Ahmad Shah in capacity and character." (Husain Shahi p.9). He soon distinguished himself by meritorious services and was raised to the office of the Bank bashi, or a treasury officer. (Khazanah-i-Amir.p.97, M.U.p.719). It is said that when Ahmad Khan came to Delhi with Nadir Shah, Nizamul Mulk who was expert in the art of physiognomy, had predicted that he would one day become king, and clipped his ears by his own knife saying, "when you become a king, this will remind you of me." (Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi.f.2(b), Tarikh-i-Sultani.p.121. See for details Ferrier, pp.90-93, Malleson.pp.273-75.

of the city early in the month of July, 1747, and assumed the title of Shah in addition to that of Durri-Dauran, and was thence known as Ahmad Shah Dauran. He proclaimed by the beat of drum the new name of his tribe as Abdali. Coins were also struck in his name.[1]

After consolidating his power in Qandhar he first invaded Ghazni and occupied it. Nawab Nasir Khan who had been set at liberty and confirmed as the governor of Kabul by Ahmad Shah after the possession of Qandhar, showed no intention of remaining loyal and refused to pay Rs 5 lakhs, and went to Peshwar to prepare for resistance.[2] The Afghan King attacked Kabul and driving out the deputy-governor established himself there.[3] From Kabul a detachment was sent to occupy Peshwar and plunder the country upto Attock on the Indus.

Ahmad Shah in the meantime had appealed to all the Afghan tribes who lived in this area to support his cause, and they, fired with national spirit, assured him of their cooperation.[4] As evidently Nasir Khan could not collect a force sufficiently strong to meet the danger, he, quietly evacauted Peshwar and corssed over to the east of the river Indus and sought shelter in Chhachh Hazara, but was ousted by Sardar-i-Jahan the commander-in-chief of Ahmad Shah, and forced to escape to Lahore.[5] At this time

---

1. Shah Nama-i-Ahmedia, p. 20(a). Waqait-i-Durrani, p. 8. Husain Shai, p.16., Ferrier, p.70, Latif, p.215.
" Command came from God, The Inscrutable, to Ahmad, the king, strike coin on silver and gold from the bottom of the sea to the moon. The official seal for his farmans was inscribed with the words:

" By the command of command of God, the Bestower of victory, Ahmad Shah the pearl of pearls."
2. Umda-tu-Tawarikh, i.p.122).
3. Husain Shai, p.17., Tarikh-i-Ahmad, p. 7., Malleson, p.70.
4. Ibid.
5. Husain Shahi, p. 17.

Nawab Hayatullah Khan Shah Nawaz Khan, the governor of Lahore, was in secret correspondence with Ahmad Shah Durrani. Nasir Khan, therefore, could not stay any more at Lahore, and left for Delhi where on December 19, 1747, he was received in audience by Emperor Muhammad Shah who bestowed on him a dress of honour of six pieces, a sword, an elephant and one lakh of rupees in recognition of his loyalty to the Mughal Empire.[1] Ahmad Shah entered Peshawar as a national hero. The territories attached to Peshawar extended upto the right bank of the Indus, and with the capture of this place, and the submission of the tribal chiefs, the boundary of the new kingdom was carried further wherever ~~and~~ Afghan tribe was to be found to the west of the river.

Like all other ambitious conqurors who rose to great heights of power in central Turkistan, Ahmed Shah fixed his eyes on India, whose natural resources and political weakness excited his cupidity and ambition. " For the consolidation of his power at home he relied, in a great measure, on the effects of his foreign wars. If these were successful, his victories would raise his reputation, and his conquests would supply him with the means of maintaining an army, and attaching the Afghan chiefs by favour and rewards."[2]

Ahmad Shah received the invitation of attacking India from Shah Nawaz Khan who wanted to ffree himself from the clutches of

---

1. Husain Shahi, p. 17., Tarikh-wa-Sawaneh Afghanistan, p.16. Tarikh-i-Sultani, p. 125, Tarikh-i-Ahmad p. 7., Shakir,f.69(a) Saulat-i-Afghani, p.52.
2. An account of the kingdom of Cambal, p.383-84.

vindictive wazir Qamruddin Khan.[1] The Afghan king left Peshawar by the middle of December with nearly 18,000 soldiers and plundering and killing on his way reached Lahore on the 8th January, 1748.[2] But by this time, Shah Nawaz Khan, taunted with treason by his maternal uncle, the wazir, had renounced old agreement, and resolved upon opposing the advance of the invader.[3] Sabir Shah a holy man who had gone to Lahore to induce the governor to join Ahmad Shah, was put to death, and preparations of defence followed.[4] Enraged at the murder of his priest and ambassader, Ahmad Shah crossed Ravi on the 10th January, and encamped at Shalamar garden, four miles east of Lahore.[5] Zila Khan, an Afghan of Kasur, whom the governor had sent to fight, joined the alien army. Ahmad Shah now advanced further, and under the walls of the city fought and defeated the Indian troops.[6] Shah Nawaz finding his position untenable in the province fled to Delhi where he was put in confinement on account of his past conduct.[7] Ahmad Shah made his

1. It was on the advice of Adina Beg, his trusted officer, that he had despatched his envoy to Ahmad Shah with the message. "Crown to Ahmad Shah, and wazirship to Shah Nawaz." The Shah atonce agreed upon the proposal and sent the word to the governor.
2. Jhelum District Gazetter (194)p.34-5.
   Gujrat District Gazetter (1883-84), 15,115., Tarikh-i-Sultani p.125., Bayan, f.66(a)., Tarikh-i-Ahmed, p.7.
3. Tarikh-i-Salatin Afghanan.p.145-7.
4. Aliuddin, pp.233-34., Bayan,f.66(b)., T.M.p.272.
5. Ibid.
6. Tarikh-i-Ahmad, p. 7., Tarikh-i-Sultani, p.126.
7. Ibid.

triumphant entry into the city on January 11,1748, and possessed himself of the arms, stores and treasures, which greatly increased his military resources. The city was spared the calamity of a sack by the victor on a ransom of Rs 30 lakhs of rupees, out of which 22 lakhs were immediately paid.[1]

The Shah stayed in Lahore for five weeks. During this period the Rajas of Jammu, Baliu and other northern hills sent their vakils with petitions of submission, and the leading chiefs and zamindars of the Punjab came to do him homage.[2]

The court of Delhi had received the warning of the impending invasion of India by the middle of November, 1747, immediately after the defeat and flight of Nasir Khan of Kabul. Indications of his ambitions designs for territorial expansion could be discerned in the Shah's proclamation issued on July 15, 1747, a copy of which had been sent to the Emperor by Amir Beg Khan, deputy to Nasir Khan. But nothing was done by the imbecile Emperor to help Nasir Khan or reinforce Shah Nawaz Khan after he had broken relations with the aggressor. " In fact, infatuation had seized his court, and even the fresh memory of the loss and humiliation suffered during Nadir Shah's invasion could not awaken any of his officers to a sense of their duty and the needs of the situation. Irresolution, conflict of counsel, procrastination and inertia now marked the measures of the Delhi government to an even more shameful extent than when the Persian con-

---

1. Husain Shahi p.19., Aliuddin, p.234-35., Delhi Chronicle,p. 16.,
2. Bayan f.67(a).,

conqurer was threating."[1] Even when the defeated Nasir Khan had arrived in Delhi (November 15, 1747), it took a week to send advance tents out of the capital (November 23) but the actual date for the march was at first fixed for December 3, and was then changed to December 14,. But no movement of troops could be made on that day because the moon was then in the unlucky house of Scorpion.[2] And nothing effective was done for three weeks more. Though pressed by the wazir, the Emperor declined to lead the army owing to his illness" that aged drunkard and smooth-tongued advocate of utter inaction", the wazir Qamruddin Khan was appointed the commander-inchief with Nawab Safdar Jung and Raja Ishwari Singh of Jaipur as deputies with a host of other officers to assist him. Huge sum of money amounting Rs 60 lakhs, were lavishly distributed among the nobles to enable exceptions among the juniors, either lazy, timid or lukewarm, and the delay made by them in moving was disgraceful."[3]

The Wazir-Commander received his formal leave to move out on January 8, 1748, the day on which Ahmad Shah arrived at Shahdra near Lahore, and the army could leave the capital on January 13, but when they reached Narela, 16 miles from the capital, news came that Ahmad Shah had captured Lahore. Now they approached the Emperor and appealed him to send his son Ahmad Shah. This

---

1. Sarkar, p. 118.
2. Mukhlis, p.237.
3. Mukhlis p.243,47,48, Tarikh-i-Ahmad, p.8., Bayan,f.67(a). Sarkar, p.118., Shakir, f.69(a).

he agreed, and the Prince left Delhi on January 31, 1748, and joined the army near Sonepat on the following day.[1] Passing through Panipat (February 10), Karnal (February 19), Sarhind February 15) and crossing Sutlaj (March 1) at the ford of ~~Ma~~ Macchiwara, 22 miles above Ludhiana, the Imperial chiefs reached Bahaaraoli; but hearing that Sirhind was seized by the enemy, they beat a hurried retreat toward Sirhind, and arrived at Manpur, a village ten miles north west of the latter city, where the invaders were seen. " The nobles displayed an astounding ignorance and neglect. They made no attempt to collect intelligence; they did not care to guard their communications with Delhi in the near, nor the route for the coming of provisions to their camps, but left Sirhind in this state. The enemy's cavalry would have met with no obstacle on the way, if it had made a dash to Delhi."[2]

Having set up a native government under Jalhe Khan, an Afghan of Kasur, and completing his preparations, Ahmad Shah left Lahore, with an army of thirty thousand horse. The Shah crossed the Sutlej at Ludhiana on March 1, and marched straight for Sirhind which he captured with little difficulty as no arrangements had been made by the Imperialists to block the road. The entire treasure and stores and the harem of the Wazir who had left them there, fell into his hands, a large number

---

1. Mukhlis p. 254.
   Delhi Chronicle, p. 86.
2. Mukhlis, pp.262,263,265., Husain Shahi, pp.19-21., Mujmul-ul-Tawarikh pp.98-100., Jam-i-Jahan-Numa,p.13. Bayan, f.68(a)., Delhi Chronicle, p. 86.

of men were put to sword, women captured as slaves, and houses were set on fire.[1]

With the news of the Durrani occupation of Sirhand, and the massacre and arson he perpetrated, great consternation and dismay prevailed in the Mughul camp." It so alarmed the chiefs and soldiers of India that they were on the point of dispersing without offering battle." Ahmad Shah sent the spoils to Lahore, and established his base in the gardens of Sirhind.[2]

The Mughul Prince, on the other hand, fixed his campt at the village Manapur at a distance of about 5 kos, a dry plain, with no sufficient number of wells. Ahmad Shah had relied on his roving parties and skirmishers as he had brought no artillery from Afghanistan. The Mughul commander wanted to avoid general action as long as possible with the hope of starving the enemy by intercepting food supplies. A week thus passed without any serious fighting. But the Afghan skirmishing parties continued hovering round the Mughul camp for miles together.[3] They were so harassed that at long last, the Wazir pressed by Safdar Jung decided to hazard an open action.

The day fixed for the general fighting was Friday, March 11, 1748, the whole army of about 60 thousand was divided into five divisions with the chief command in the hands of the Wazir.[4]

The battle began at about eight O'clock in the morning.

---

1. Mukhlis p.261-66.
2. T.M. p. 273.
3. Mukhlis, pp.267-271-72.
4. The five divisions of the Mughul army were these:-
   (a) The van consisting of the Wazir's contingent of Turks and and the troops of his sons, Mir Najmuddin Khan, Fakhruddin Khan and Sadruddin Khan, and those of Ahmad Zaman Khan Talib Jung and Adina Beg Khan to be led by his elder son, Mir Muinuddin Khan (Mir Masun).

The Mughul commander-in-Chief had just finished his Namaz-i-Chasht, between 9 and 10 in the morning, and was till on his prayer carpet reciting Wazifa, when all of a sudden, a ball from an Afghan gun fell upon his tenst, and tearing it, it first struck the ground and then rebounded and wounded him in the back near the waist.[1]

Hearing of this untoward event, Moin-ul-Mulk came to see his father. The Wazir who knew that the last hour of his life had come, told to his son, " This is all over with me. But as the Emperor's work is still unfinished you must mount immediately and deliver the assult before this news spreads. The claim of (the master's) salt is above everything else. My business may be looked to later on." With these words and Kalimah-i-Shahdhat on his lips Wazirut-mumalik Itadadu Daulah Nawab Qamruddin Khan Jusrat Jung, the Commander-in-chief of the Mughul army died.[2]

Moinul-Mulk " rose to the occasion, he suppressed his filial tears, hurriedly buried his father's corpse, wraped up its blood-stained clothes, in the floor of his sleeping tent, and levelled the sand over it, to remove all sings."[3] Mounting his father's elephant with determination to fight as long as there was life in his body, he rushed into the field of battle, and fought with desperate valour.[4] But Ishwari with his Rajputs, who had entered the filed in saffron-dyed robes, resolved to

---

1. Mukhlis p. 273, Husain Shahi, pp. 21-22., T.M.p.274., Shakir, f.69(a)., Bayan f.68(b)., Delhi Chronicle p.87.
2. Mukhlis p.273., Latif. p.219.
3. Sarkar, p.124.
4. See for details of the battle Sarkar's Fall of the Mughul Empire, Vol.1. pp.125-128. He has based his account on Mukhlis, Husain Shafi, Tarikh-i-Ahmad and Mujmil-ut-Tawarikh.

win or die and were " twirting their moustaches in full confidence of victory", fled away like chaff before a gust of wind, when rockets after rockets fell on their line from the enemy's side killing them in hundreds. So precipitate was the flight that they threw their drum and light artillery into wells, and set fire to their extra baggage.[1] Moin-u-Mulk and Safdar Jung held their positions firmly, though the former, his brother and Adina Beg were wounded. The battle raged furiously when an unexpected event turned the tables in favour of the Indians.

The Afghans in their train had a few carts full of rockets which they had captured at Lahore. A spark fell into one of them and set the same one to fire and several thousand of rockets atonce flew into the air, dropped in their own army, and the fire spread to gun-powder, and which exploded killing more than a thousand Afghans. This created utter disorder and confusion in their columns and they scattered in all directions, like autumn leaves.[2]

By his good generalship, the broken colums were saved from utter rout by the Shah. Under cover of darkness of night Ahmad Shah retired to Sirhind and begn his preparations for his return to Afghanistan, but to gain more time he sent his envoy to negotiate terms of peace asking for territories formerly given over to Nadir Shah.

---

1. Sarkar, 128, Vol.I.
2. Husain Shahi pp.22-23, T.M. p.275., Tarikh-i-Ahmad, p.8

The Mughuls refused to regotiate and the Afghan king left Sirhind and marched towards Lahore.[1] The Mughul army was so exhausted that no pursuit was made and Ahmad Shah hastened towards Kabul, as intelligence of his nephew Luqman Khan's revolt had reached him and upset his calculations.[2]

---

1. Mulhlis pp.284-85,291-92,295-96.
   Husain Shahi p. 23.
   Majmil-ut-Tawarikh.p.112.
   Jam-i-Jahan-Numa. p.14.
2. Sarkar, p.129.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADMINISTRATION.

The Mughul Empire, though monarchical and highly centralized, was neither based on force nor on religion. Its foundations were laid on benevolent despotism, and enlightened secularism, getting strength from passive acquiescence of the populace who had been left undisturbed in the observance of their religious and social rites. Nor was it a foreign rule in the sense of colonial system. True, the governing class was largely composed of foreign elements, yet they had adapted India as their home and taken to the Indian way of life.

As the government was despotic in form and bureaucratic in structure the monarch enjoyed a pivotal position in the state machinery. The sovereign with certain limitations was the supreme law maker, the head of the executive and the highest court of justice. He was the Shadow of God, the sole foundation of law and right; incapable of doing wrong, irrespensible and irresistible in his authority. Abul Fazal had thus stated the essence of royalty. " Royalty is a light emanating from God and a ray from the sun... Modern language calls this light farri-i-izidi (the divine light) and the tongue of antiquity called it Kiyan Khura (the sublime halo). It is communicated by God to kings without the intermediate assistence of any one, and man in the presence of it bends the forehead of praise towards the ground of submission."[1] It was the responsibility of the king to govern the country with wisdom and justice

---

1. Ain, Bloch; I. p.3.

tempered with firmness and tolerance, and put down the storm of strife and selfish ambition.[1] " Kingship is a gift of God, and is not bestowed till many thousand good qualities have been gathered together in the individual."[2] The imperial throne was a competitive post which could not become the monopoly of a particular individual, and the indivisibility of sovereignty was a convention tacitly accepted. In the absence of any law of succession, " the warrior's sword was called upon to solve the problem which the jurist's pen had left in perpelexity and doubt." Under such conditions the character of the ruler counted much for the success of this system.

Muhammad Shah was devoid of the qualities indespensible for conducting the government and maintaining the prestige of Mughul sovereignty. The divine claims of the Mughul crown had acquired such firm foundation that no individual however powerful could ever dream of overthrowing the Timuride dynasty and setting up his own in its place. The king-makers had deposed and killed Farrukh-Siyar, but another Prince of the royal blood was raised to the throne. Nizamul Mulk revolted and established his autonomous government in Haiderabad, but never proclaimed himself the Emperor. Peshwa Baji Rao humbled the power of the government by conquering Malwa and Gujrat,

---

1. Ibid. p. 2.
2. Ibid.

sacked the imperial capital, but contented himself with the deputy governorship of a province, accepting the position of a subordinate official of the Mughul crown. The provincial governors and Rajput chiftains, all independent within their territories paid homage to Muhammad Shah, offered presents to him, received his Farmans with due ceremony, and no Muslim governor stopped Khutuba being recited in the Emperor's name or issued his own coins; their allegiance was to the Mughul crown and not to an individual. A clear distinction between the king and the crown was growing up but lacked the firm foundation of democratic institutions.

The central government was run by a council of four ministers, namely the chief Wazir, the Mir Bakshi, the Mir Khan-i-Saman, and the Sadr, assisted by minor officials like Diwans of Khalsa and Tan, Mir Atash, two or three subordinate Bakshis, Darogha of Dak Choki, a corps of clerks, numerous officials in charge of royal Karkhanas and the court, Daroghas of the fort and palaces and various secretaries to the ministers. These four ministers were independent of each other and answerable only to the king. " The four ministers were certainly the four pillars of the Empire, but not like the symbolical pillars of the Turkish Empire which held the tent, but pillars like those of the Mughul Taj, which do not support the structure but add to its dignity, majesty and beauty."[1] The Wazir was the chief Diwan, and intermediary between the king and other officers, supervised the transaction of central and provincial

---

1. Ibn-i-Hasan, p. 351.

departments by examining the records submitted to him by their heads, exercised power of appointments, transfers and promotions and kept an eye on the work of the governors. The enormous power entrusted to the Wazir was fraught with two great dangers, namely the man in the office could at any time dominate the king if the latter was weak in character, and secondly, if the former was incapable and irresponsible in the discharge of the duties, the entire administration might collapse.

Munim Kha, the Wazir of Bahadur Shah, Zulfiqar Khan of Jahandar Shah, and Saiyid Abdullah Khan and Saiyid Husain Ali Khan, the ministers of Farrukh-Siyar, and Muhammad Shah in the first year of his reign, were commanding personalities, possessed of prudence, energy and singular dexterity in the management of men and affairs. Though they had reduced the Emperor to a state of subordination, but they executed the state business efficiently, and preserved the prestige of the Empire. In the case of Muhammad Shah, his Wazir Qamruddin Khan, was sluggish, luxurious and pleasure-loving, and when both of them lost interest in the public work, other ministers stepped in their shoes, and divided offices and wealth among themselves. Siding with Koki's clique he succeeded in ousting Nizamul Mulk. The new Wazir Qamruddin was less aggressive and resourceful, possessed neither the ability nor the will to dominate the Emperor. " For the quarter centry (1724-1748) that he held the office in the realm, the administration merely drifted along, under this harmless kind old man, who always foresaw the trend of affairs and the effect of every measure, but had

never the courage to tell the honest truth to his master or dissuads him from any wrong course on which his heart was set. In fact he considered it supreme wisdom merely to keep his post and do as little work as possible."[1] Mir Bakshi, Samsam-ud-Daulah, leader of the Indian party usurped all power and he utilized it to the utmost for his personal aggrandisment. In the court the Indian party was decidely the strongest, and possessed standing majority; the Mughul lived either in obscurity or repaired to the Punjab, Kabul and Haiderabad for service under their leaders. Samsum-ud-Daulah was supreme in Emperor's council. His suggestions and recommendations in formulating the state policies carried weight, and he reduced the monarch to a nullity with the help of Raja Jai Singh and other Indian born Muslim Amirs. It was after his death that the indolent Wqzir confronted a critical situation created by the appointment of Safdar Jung as Mir-i-Atash in March, 1744. Though he succeeded in saving his office with the help of Nizamul Mulk, he eclipsed in a short time by his dominating rival. " The Emperor, on account of the rebellion of the nobles, the fear of his own life, and the temptations of his evil passions, shut up the gates of justice and gave no ear to complaints.....In a short time, many of the officers of this kingdom put out their feet from the pasth of obedience to the sovereign, and many of the infidels, rebels, tyrants and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity

---

1. Sarkar p. 7 Vol.I.

and extortion upon the weaker tributories and the poor subjects."[1] The author of Hadisa Nadir Shah writes: " The affairs of the government had been upset. The enemies of the Emperor, intoxicated with the pride of the extreme wealth, and the increasing status, like Wazirul Mumalik Aitmad-ud-Daulah Bahadur, and Samsum-ud-Daulah Khan -i-Dauran had neglected the affairs of the government. They were idle, commanded no respect, and did not fear the Emperor, except indulging in corruption they had no work to do."[2] Abdul Karim, the author of Bayan Waqai, attributes the cause of this laxity to the prevailing factions among the ministers of the government. If any minister formed plans for the stability of the government and the welfare of the people, the other would thwart them to discredit him, the Emperor could say nothing for he feared the fate of Farrukh-Siyar. If one minister suggested the punishment of a refractory zamindar, the rival would plead his case saying that he was his man and he would teach him loyalty. The Zamindar thus set at liberty would become more powerful than before. The government officers became disobedient and disloyal to the Emperor, befriended the refractory and rebellious element and displayed indifference in checking the advance of the Marathas. During this period, thousands of towns and villages inhabitated by gentlemen, learned scholars, and Ulema were destroyed; the flood-tides of tumult coming from the south struck at the gates of the capital; the invaders possessed of the produce

---

1. Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran .f.ø.100(b).
2. Hadisa-Nadir Shah f.4(a).

of the provinces reduced the imperial soldiery to a state of beggary; and the government officers and mansabdars lost all authority and confidence. The suggestion of Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran's author that Faujdars and Superintendents of police should be appointed on the way from Faridabad to Gwalior to check the disorders implies that royal authority had disappeared from this area. Harcharan Das informs us that in the year following the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Jats and the Sikhs invaded Sirhind and captured several villages. It was only after an expedition sent from the court under Azim-Ullah Khan that they were suppressed.[1] In the Ganges Jumna Doab, the Rohillas were supreme, and were carrying their depredations upto the gates of Delhi. In fact Muhammad Shah's authority did not extend beyond Palam.

Muhammad Shah had never disturbed the hornet's nest by punishing or admonishing his ministers or officials of the central government for their negligence in the execution of state duties. His ministers and captains failed to stem the tide of Maratha invasions in Malwa and Gujrat. They made peace with them by surrendering territories and paying Chauth without his permission; they flouted his commands and threatened him with rebellion; they upset the military arrangements by their own mutual jealousies in the battle of Karnal; they embezzled vast amounts of money and usurped jagirs in crown lands, but the Emperor never expressed his resentment, never questioned their integrity, but on the other hand continued

---

1. Harcharan, f.373(a).

lavishing rewards on them. The ministers and nobles too flattered him by presenting trays of vegetables fruits, meals, rich cloth, animals, jewels and money.

The decline in administration, and virtual collapse of the central government led to anarchy in the provinces which had either ceased to be governed by the centre, or came under the occupation of the Marathas. The governors assumed independence, having severed all connections with the court, except sending presents and flattering letters to the Emperor, and maintaining outward show of royal dignity in their provinces. The central government had become so ineffective that no interference was made in the local affairs of the provinces. The Subedars appointed all their subordinate officers and granted to them titles and ranks, paid no revenue due from them, and received no orders from the Wazir. The governors of the Punjab, Oudh, Bengal and Haiderabad, who still professed to be the servants of the crown, were defacto rulers of their territories. As a check to their independence and power, in former times governors were transferred from one province to the other after few years, but in this reign they were allowed to enjoy life long tenure in the office. Murshid Quli Khan of Bengal governed his province for 17 years, (1710-27), Saadat Khan of Oudh for 16 years (1723-1739), Zakariaya Khan of the Punjab for 29 years (1726-1745) and Nizamul Mulk for 25 years (1713-48).

Revenue Administration.

The Muslim and Hindus practices were in conformity as regards the claims of the Indian ruler to a share of produce from the land and to levy taxes on various professions and trades. According to Muslim Shara the head of the state was legally authorised to impose Zakat, Khums, Jazya and Khiraj on land. Besides the strictly legal taxes some taxes were permitted by custom and usage. Some extra Sharai taxes were also levied, though various rulers at various time issued orders prohibiting the levying of such taxes.

The most striking feature of the period under review is the final abolition of the Poll-tax effected in December, 1720, by the orders of Muhammad Shah on the request of Raja Jai Singh. Though Nizamul Mulk tried to revive the institution in March-April, 1725, but it was never carried out. The Emperor also issued a Farman abolishing taxes like Tamgha, Baj and Zakat, in all numbering one hundred and one; taxes on corn, plants, medicines, oil, salt, sugar, all kinds of flower essences, earthen pots, and other things on which the livilihood of masses depended were abolished. The revenue officials were further urged in this Farman not to extend the hand of tyranny and suppress the strong who oppressed the weak.[1] Likewise in other Farman, the Amin was asked to be courteous, kind and well-wisher of the cultivators. He should

---

1. Majma-ul-Insha, f.77(a.b).

grant loans to the poor farmers who could not purchase seed and oxen.[1] As far as his intentions were concerned they were noble, and Muhammad Shah followed the policy of his predecessors. But weak as he was, he could not enforce his commands with any success. The petty officers as well as the governors extorted money by all unfair means. We have seen how Hamid Ali Khan and Mubariz Khan in Gujrat and Muhammad Khan Bangash in Malwa had acquired huge sums of money by imposing new and odious taxes on the citizens and invading the villages of the peasantry and workers. The tax on Hindu pilgrims for the Ganges had been abolished, but there is a record of a compalint by one Muj Ram to Raja Jai Singh. He wrote to the Raja, "According to his previous order about the abolition of the tax, general announcement was made in Gaya, but the Nazim had fixed 23 lakhs Dam as tax on forced subscriptions, gifts and servce.[1] He should therefore send another letter of remission with the seal of Roshan-ud-Daulah.[2] The auther of Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran writes that two taxes, Rah Dari and Baj were very oppressive and should be abolished. For every where, amirs, mansabdars and jagirdars in their own areas collect this tax. As a result the merchants sell their goods on high prices, and masses suffer from it.[3] The Rah Dari tax seems to have been a government charge in certain areas, for when Churaman Jat submitted on

---

1. Siyaq Nama of Anand Ram, f.22(b).
2. Akhbar (Additional, Persian, Vol. V) pp.69-70.
3. Risala-i-Khan-i-Dauran, f.27(a,b).

7th Rabi 1130 A.H. he was given the rights of Rahdari and Zamindar of Akbarabad.[1]

Jagir System.

The king as the proprietor of the land assigned his share of the produce of a specified area, from a village to a province, to a government employee instead of paying in cash for the services his post required. The assignee was authorised to exercise execution duties in so far as collection of revenue necessitated. The right of collecting revenues did not make him the owner of the land; he could neither buy it, sell it or mortagage it. His hold on the assignment was of a temporary nature as he was liable to be transferred to another place in case he abused his powers or failed to execute state business satisfactorily. He could collect neither more than that sanctioned by the state, nor impose taxes on his own account. All remissions granted by the government were to be carried out, and if particular area under his charge yielded more than what had been assessed at the time of assignment, his jagir would be reduced accordingly. He was not empowered to exercise executive duties of maintaining law and order unless they were entrusted to him, although he had the power to appoint his own men for the collection work, and weilded considerable influence in deciding disputes among cultivators if their panchayats referred them to him. He was not in hereditary

---

1. Miratul Haqaiq, f. 132 (a).

possession of the fief, and could not bequeath it to his son or any of the relations. The jagirdars collected revenues through their own agents or entrusted the work to the Faujdar. The governor had no control over the jagirs.

In spite of these limitations put on the jagirdars, the system was productive of many evils which in the long run shattered the economy of the government. The system worked successfully as long as an efficient government could enforce its laws against fief holders and the collectors of the revenues. But with the decline in the central government on account of political disorders and the inefficiency of the ministers, the whole structure of the economic organisation collapsed and utter bankruptcy followed. In the reign of Aurangzeb, due to reckless assignments, rapid transfers of jagirdars, extortion of money through fraudulent practices by the officers and the deeply rooted corruption in the officers of the Diwan, cultivation suffered, salaries of the soldiers fell into arrears, and the financial stability of the government was totally ruined. Bhimsen writes, " There is no hope of a jagir being left with the same officer next year, when a jagirdar sends a collector to his jagir, he first takes an advance from the latter by way of loan, This collector, on arriving in the village, fearing lest a second man who had given a larger loan to the jagirdar was following (to supplant him), does not hesitate to collect the rent with every oppression. The ryots have given up cultivation; the jagirdars do not get a penny."[1]

---

1. Sarkar. Vol. V. p. 453.

During the reigns of Alamgir's successors these conditions continued unchecked resulting in the decline of agricultural production and the impoverishment of the Public Excequer. The extent of Khalsa lands was further narrowed down. Right up from Bahadur Shah to Muhammad Shah, all the monarchs granted lands most lavishly and recklessly to their favourites. Nizamul Mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan possessed jagirs in the most fertile area of the Empire, in Bareilly and Moradabad, in the provinces of the Punjab and Gujrat, Saadat Khan in Allahabad and Oudh, Muhammad Khan Bangash in Bundelkhand, Samsamu Daulah in Delhi and Agra, Zafar Khan Roshanu Daulah in Panipat and Sirhind. Though the system had grown rotten and hence unpopular among the mansabdars, possession of a jagir was still thought better than dependence on the government for the cash salary. It was source of income and prestige. The nobles and the government officials like Mir Bakshi, Diwan-i-Taz and Darogha of artillery secured for their young sons of fourteen and fifteen years mansabs extending from hundred to five hundred, and felt proud on their gradual promotions. Besides these jagirdars who were required to render some service to the government a large number of persons including men of letters, doctors of theology, physicians and widows etc had acquired lands as madad-i-mash and were exempted from the payment of revenue. One Hakim Masihul Zaman Khan possessed jagirs in the parganas of Akbarabad and Alwar worth six lakhs eighty two thousand Dam, and had to pay nothing, as no government work had been entrusted to him.[1]

---

1. Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Maullah. Vol.II. pp.95-101.

Only in Pargana Koil (present Aligarh) 893 bighas of land had been given as madad-i-mash, or subsistance allowance, to widows and orphans, theologians, Kazis and Muftis by Muhammad Shah.[1] Thus more and more area of the Empire passed into the hands of the jagirdars till in the first decade of the second half of the 18th century, the government lost control over lands in the provinces of Delhi and Agra. According to Shah Wali-Ullah the main cause of the bankruptcy was the alienation of the Crown lands.

These jagirs were secured by the mansabdars on the payment of money in the form of bribes to the Bakshis and the clerks of the revenue department. These underlings openly demanded money before giving a letter of appointment, and according to the prevailing rates, one had to pay hundred rupees if he had obtained a mansab of hundred Zat. The author of Miratul Haqaiq writes: " The position of mansab had been reduced to such a condition that mansab and title have absolutely no value, and the jagir does not come into possession. Disappointed// and distressed at this condition the royal servants have confined themselves in their homes. Nearly from one lakh to two lakhs of pepole are in this condition, and the number of the royal servants is greater."[2] Muhammad Shah was himself responsible for encouraging this system and accepted bribes through his agents from the mansabdars. Kokiji and her

---

1. Collection of Farmans by Prof.S.A.Rashid, Lytton Library, M.U.Aligarh.
2. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq . f.92(a).

partisians had accumulated vast sums of money by this practice and Muhammad Shah shared in the ill-gotten wealth.

Political disorders and the decay of the central government had contributed to the loss of jagirs in the Imperial dominions. The big jagirdars like governors and ministers had lost hold on their jagirs in Malwa and Gujrat, Oudh and Haiderabad, Rohilkhand and Farrukhabad, where Marathas and independent governors and local chiefs of the Rohillas and the Bangash had established their rule by destroying the power of the central government. Even in the provice of Agra, Delhi and the Punjab, where Jats, Mewatis and the Sikhs were at large, the ministers and the nobles had no authority over their fiefs and got no revenues from them. According to Khafi Khan one are two in a hundred of the wretched assignees could get a morsel of bread from their assignments. The rest were starving and lead a wretched life. It was only the governor who could in fact keep hold over his jagirs in the province by invading and destroying the local chiefs and zamindars. The small jagirdars who had entrusted the work of revenue collection to the Faujdars gradually lost grip over the land and finally all contact with the farmers. They were harassed by three classes; the invaders and the rebels, the governors and the local officers. The heavy hand of the rebellious adventurer first descended on the small jagirs, and the governors had no fear of being checked or challenged by them whereas the local officers like Faujdars were in better position to become defacto possessors of the land. Muhammad Khan Bangash, Haider Quli Khan, Hamid Ali Khan, and Mubaris Khan are the few examples of such usurpers who deprived the helpless persons of their jagirs. Besides

these governors, rebels like Dost Muhammad Khan Rohilla in Malwa, Chattarsal Bundela and Ali Muhammad Khan in Rohilkhand hadbrought large area under their possession. The Nizam wrote to Muhammad Shah, " The fact is this that the Faujdars make ample gains for themselves in the jagirs of persons having small ranks and position, and nothing is received by them; they, therefore, request to grant them executive authority so that they might be free from the oppression of the Faujdars."[1] This was a period when defacto possession meant everything as mere right in the land had no value. The small jagirdars had neither the personal strength nor the support of the local officers in collecting revenues from their jagirs. Shah Waliullah in his letter to Ahmad Shah had pointed out this evil in these words." " The Grant of jagir should be reserved only to bing nobles, small mansabdars should get their pay in cash, as was the rule in the reign of Shah Jahan. For the small mansabdars cannot obtain authority over the jagirs and resort to farming them out to others. As a result they are always poor and unable to devote themselves in the work of the government."[2] In another letter he describes the economic condition of the country. " Things have come to such a pass that the jagirdars have lost authority over the jagirs; no one understands that its reason is indolence. When the royal coffers became empty, money in cash is also exhausted. At last all employees are

---

1. Munshat-i-Mosvi Khan f. 66(a).
2. Letters of Shah Wali-Uallah.

scattered and take the bowl of beggary..... The people are affected with all sorts of oppression and unemployment. Besides their poverty and distress they became homeless; despair and frustration have seized them.....(This is not all). Incessant famines stalked the country. Finally, the condition of Muslim community is pitiable."[1] Besides the assignees and the farmers there was a large number of local revenue collectors like Chaudharis and Muqqdamms who acted as intermediatories between the government and the peasantry. With the weakening of the central government and the loss of the assignee's hold over the land, these people found opportunities to appropriate revenues and evade payment to the government. As the peasantry had direct contact with them, they gained influence and power in the villages by expelling the officers of lower rank. Gradually they secured defacto possession of the villages, transformed them into dependencies, and established their absolute ownership.

Trade and Industries.

The Mughul government organised the manufacture of all the commodities which were required for general use in the court and the harem. The Emperor bestowed on the mansabdars and nobles robes of honours on occasions of festivals, birthdays, new year's day, weddings over the chiefs, governors and the vanquished rebels who attended his court. The government had its own Karkhanas or factories where articles were

---

1. Letters of Shah Waliullah.

manufactured under the direct control of the superintendent who provided raw material to the labourers, paid their wages and kept the finished articles in stores. Berneir thus gives an eye-witness account of these factories. " Large halls are seen in many palaces, called Karkhanas, or workshops for the artisians. In one hall embroiders are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see gold smiths, in a third painters, in a fourth varnishers in lacquer work, in a fifth joiners, turners, tailors, shoe makers; in a sixth manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females.....beautifully embroidered with needle work. The artisians repair every morning to their respective workshops where they remained employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes."[1] Agra, Lahore, Multan, Satgaon, Patna, Ahmedabad and Burhanpur, were the important places where state factories manufactured masterpieces of workmanship under the supervision of the provincial governors who were to send them to the court, besides their own presents and local artisians were patronised lavishly by them.[2]

During the reign of Muhammad Shah 36 such factories existed. The amount of turnout diminished after their pillage by Nadir Shah, and they were completely robbed of their contents by Ahmad Shah. Some of the workshops were known after the articles manufactured there - Khilat Khanah, Toshak Khanah,

---

1. Berneir p. 259.
2. Datta pp. 227-30.
   Pant.pp.424-428.

(Ward robes) Zin Khanah, Bister Khanah, and Pesh Khanah (Bedding and advance tents for the Empeoor's journey), Zargar Khanah (Gold smith workshop) Khushbu Khanah (Perfumery). Zardoz Khanah (Gold and embriodery).

The needs of the government thoroughly satisfied by the state-owned workshops, the robles and other persons of means were naturally dependent on the open market. As their number was considerably large, their riches overflowing, and their requirements ever-increasing, industries flourished and trade was brisk. Delhi was the chief centre where all articles of luxury and fashion were sold. The shops in Chandni Chawk were big and magnificent, where jewellery, pots, arms huqqas costing as high as one thousand rupees, articles of fashions, and cloth were available in abundence.

The Army.

Character and composition.

" The army of the Mughul Empire consisted mostly of a number of contingents recruited, commanded and paid by the nobles or chieftains whom the Emperor authorised to raise and maintain the number of troops assigned to each and who were paid in the lup for their men."[1] Such chiefs were themselves recruited in graded service called mansab which ranged from the command of 20 (mir Dah) to nine thousand in the later period, all aggregating to a number of 27 grades.[2]

---

1. Sarkar. p. 201 - Mughul Administration.
2. Irvine. p. 4. Military Organisation of the Mughuls.

They got their pay in cash or in jagir. As the system of assignment had become unpopular, the commanders liked cash salaries and in advance when one of them was ordered to lead a campaign against the rebels or the Marathas. Such advances were regarded as gifts and never repaid by the receipents. The Mir Bakshi was the chief officer who inspected the horses, branded them, and identified the rider by the descriptive roll prepared at the time of appointment.

In the reign of Muhammad Shah the high officers held the following ranks.[2]

9 thousand	- Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah	1.
8 thousand	- Muhammad Amin Khan	3
	- Samsam-ud-Daulah.	
	- Qamruddin Khan	
6 thousand.	- 46	
5 thousand	- 49	

All of them got cash salaries. But the number of mansabdars who had received jagirs was very large, and the appointments of some of them dated back from the times of Alamgir.

In addition to these contingents kept by the mansabdars, the Emperor had his own personal guards, recruited directly by him. They were well-equipped and well-paid, ever in attendance on their master. They were sent out on rare occasions, when mansabdars were either absant or could not procure the desired

---

1. Shakir - f. 180(b), f. 109.

number to meet any emergency. Such an occasion had arisen when Baji Rao invaded Delhi, and all big ministers were far away from the capital. Muhammad Shah had a personal guard of 27,505 horsemen.[1] There were feudatory Princes of Jaipur, Jodhpur and other petty Rajput states who furnished the fixed quota of contingent whenever needed by the government. Thus the cavalry strength of the Mughul army was consisted of the three divisions, the mansabdars' forces, the Emperor's personal guard or Ahdis, and the Princes' troops.

The infantry wing of the Mughul army was a miscellaneous crowd including musketeers, swordsmen, wrestlers, and other non-combatants, and hence held a very inferior position. " In short, the infantry were more rabble of half-armed men than anything else, being chiefly levies brought into the field by petty zamindars, or men belonging to the jungle tribes."[2] They were recruited from among the inhabitants of the western districts of the U.P., Bundelkhand, Afghan settlements in Farrukhabad and Shahjahanpur, Mewat, Oudh, Rajputana and the Punjab. They received very small pay and a multitutde of people assembled at the time of recruitment but only to give way at the first charge in the battle.

The artillery in the later period had become the most trusted and favoured corps in the army. In the reign of Muhammad Shah several battles had been won by the imperial

---

1. Shakir
2. Irvine. p. 162.

forces with the help of the heavy artillery. Haider Quli Khan had forced Girdhar Bahadur to sue for peace when one wall of the Allahabad fort was battered and in the battle of Hasanpur he, now in the capacity of Mir Atash, had put the forces of Abdullah Khan to flight and compelled him to surrender. Raja Jai Singh succeeded in defeating Churaman Jat at Thun with the help of the artillery sent from the capital, and Nizamul Mulk escaped complete annihilation at Bhopal for Baji Rao had no artillery to storm his camp. The artillery was divided into two sections, the heavy artillery and the artillery of the stirrup or the light artillery. The heavy guns were large and cumbersome to be loaded and moved from one place to the other. There were guns of 17 feet length, and the shot they threw ranged from 60 to 100 lbs. They were sometimes dragged by elephants and from five hundred to one thousand or more bullocks. The Mughuls were fond of giving these guns pompous names, like Ghazi Khan (Lord Champion), Sher Dhan, (Tiger-mouth), Dhumdham (The noisy), Kishwar Kusha, Jahan Kusha (World conqueror) and so forth. The light artillery consisted of swivel guns and field pieces mounted on whelled carriages. Some of the names of these guns were Gajnal, Hatnal, Shutarnal, Zamburak, Shahin, Rahkalah etc. Mir Atash was the head of the artillery and was assisted by a Mushrif or executive officer. He was to guard the person of the Emperor, the palace gates and walls as well. All bills and demands relating to his department were put by him before the Emperor, but he was not incharge of manufacture work or stores which were under the control of the Darogha of Top Khana. The Mughul Emperors regarded the technique of the foreigners

to be superior, and were keen to secure their employment in this branch of the army. Irvine is of the opinion that Muhammad Shah probably had Portuguse and other Europeans in his service.

Another section of the army was formed by the elephants who served as beasts of burden as well means of display. They carried to the field equipage of the army and baggage of the soldiers, the Emperor and the amirs sat on them in an armoured-flated, conspied seat, called 'Hauda' or 'Imari'. They were sometimes used to batter the walls of the fortresses. But in the later period they had proved harmful in the battlefield and in Karnal they could not stand before the swifty moving cavalry of Nadir Shah.

Salaries and Discipline.

The mansabdars received their salaries either in cash or jagir, but they paid their soldiers in cash. The government had no contact or dealings with the soldiers of the mansabdars, except at the time of muster or in the field of battle where the commander was called to fight with his contingent. During the reign of Muhammad Shah the pay of horsemen[a] was Rs 50/- per month; and that of the foot soldier not more than Rs 20/-.[1] But the salaries due from the imperial treasury to the mansabdars and that from the mansabdars to the private soldiers were always in arrears. Irvine says that they had been in arrears even when the government was stable financially and politically, for " to owe money to somebody seems in that country the normal

---

1. Hercharan Das. p.66.

condition of mankind." Besides this habit of the Muslim commanders, their economic condition had become extremely bad owing to the loss of jagirs and lavish expenditure on private luxuries in the later period. The Imperial treasury had also become impoverished on account of the loss of provinces and the increasing expenditure of the court and the harem. As a result neither the government could pay the salaries regularly to the mansabdars nor were the mansabdars, who had received jagirs, in a position to clear the dues of their soldiers. During the reign of Muhammad Shah, bot the mansabdars and their soldiers always made complaints to the government for the payment of their dues. Several examples of such cases have been cited elsewhere when Muhammad Khan Bangash, and Nasir Khan wrote letters after letters to the Emperor for the money to pay off the salaries of soldiers under their command. The soldiers of Mubariz Khan broke into mutiny and abused him in his presence and finally deserted him. The army raised and organised by Asad Yar Khan at the orders of Muhammad Shah after the departure of Nadir Shah was dismissed for the Emperor could not pay the dues to the soldiers, and poor Asad Yar Khan had to appease the furious soldiers after selling his valuable belongings. On the death of Amir Khan, 25th December, 1746, his soldiers, surrounded his house and prevented his burial, till after four days, when the corpse began to rot, Safdar Jung took the responsibility of payment, and thus satisfied, the soldiers allowed the body to be taken to the grave. When the soldiers found that their salaries were not paid even for years, they abandoned the profession, sold the horse either to the merchant or the butcher, and joined the

ranks of the unemployed persons. On the day of general recruitment they mortgaged the ornaments of their wives, bought a horse and got enrolled in the army, but after receiving the salary of two or three months in advance, they left the army, sold the horse and secured the ornaments by paying the money to the banker and again sat in their houses.

The non-payment of arrears had not only effected the discipline of the soldiery but destroyed all interest in the the profession itself. Large number of soldiers suffering from whant of money had given up service of the mansabdars and joined the standards of the powerful chiefs like Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla, Muhammad Khan Bangash, Safdar Jung, Nizamul Mulk, and other provincial governors who were honest and regular in paying the salaries of their troops. Those who could not get employment became highway robbers and thiefs while modest ones either took up a new profession or starved. The non-payment of arrears was also responsible for the decline in the morale of the army. During Mir Jumla's stay at Patna the Mughul soldiers became so unruly that in utter disregard of civil law they laid hands on properties of the people. It was common thing to trample the growing crops under the feet of the horse, plunder the foodstuffs and other belongings of the villagers, when the army was on the march, for the commander could not always satisfy their demands because of want of provision as well as of money.

There was no regimental organisation nor rules and regulations of discipline and drill. " The traces of order, discipline and science are so faint as to be scarcely discernible except in the outward appearance of the men, the management

of their horses, and their dexterity in the use of the spear and sabre, which individually gives a martial air." The only opportunity of learning the manoeuvres and tactics of combined movements the soldiers got was when they were ordered to go out for hunting in the company of the Emperor or the mansabdar. While on march they looked like rabble, observing no rules of movements and discipline; some would go forward, others lag behind, and suffer all kinds of privations. Such a march provided them a good opportunity for desertion. Thousands of soldiers had left the army of Abdullah Khan when he was marching from Delhi to Hasanpur to fight against Muhammad Shah. In the field of battle they could not keep order and on the first charge they gave way. If the commander was killed or disappeared, the whole army would make a quick flight. As they were directly recruited and paid by the mansabdars, they knew no higher loyalty than to their own immediate commanders. If a chief deserted the royal army in the thick of fighting his whole force would follow him and the tables were thus truned in favour of the enemy. Jahandar Shah's defeat was partially due to the desertion of Muhammad Amin Khan and Nizamul Mulk who joined the army of Farrukh-Siyar. There was no unity or cooperation among various commanders who fought on the side of the Emperor as they strove to discredit each other for personal gains. This fact has been fully illustrated in the battle of Karnal. " In short, excepting want of personal courage, every other fault in the list of military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Mughuls; indiscipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity, bad commissariate, and cumbersome equipment."[1]. (Irvine - p-300.).

Weapons and Methods of War.

The early Mughul Emperors had won brilliant military victories over the Indian Princes by the use of artillery and heavy cavalry clad in armour coupled with superb generalship and strategy. " Their tactics were to shoot arrows or dart javelines from horse back, throw their stationary opponents into confusion by their movements and attacks from unexpected quarters, - then extend their own evenings of fast cavalry, envelop the enemy and reach his rear, when in Gibbon's picturesque phrase, " the two horns of the crescent closed together", and the enemy was hopelessly routed." The strength of cavalry was rendered more formidable by the blasting power of the heavy artillery which delivered such a rapid and tremendous offensive that no breathing space for recovery or recuperation was ø afforded to the enemy. Both these instruments of war proved useful in a pitched battle fought by the two parties wishing for full trial of strength and decisive result. But in encounters fought in the hilly region surrounded by forests and rivers, where heavy cavalry and artillery could not move fast, the weaker party always sought to escape by some tactical process and find out new shelter from where it could harass retreating army of the strong enemy. The artillery was local in action, and ponderous in its movements; it was further rendered stationary by the huge tail of camp which looked like a city with its markets, streets, tents, stores, baggage, all kinds of people, men and women, old and young, combatants and non-combatants, elephants, cattle and beasts of burden.

The cavalry of the Mughuls also suffered from the same

defects of immobility, cumbersomeness and inactivity. The evil of false muster was aggravated during the reign of Mushammad Shah, when soldiers appeared on hired horses or hastly-purchased ponies, and were enrolled as true soldiers by the corrupt Bakshis. Nobles would lend each other the men to make up their quota, or needly idlers from the bazars would be mounted on the first baggage pony that come to hand and counted in with the others as efficient soldiers. A soldier was more interested in the safety of his horse than in the success or defeat of his commander. If the horse was killed, he was unable to purchase a new one after the termination of war when he would be dismissed from service. Neither his service was secure nor was there any hope of reward after the success of his master. With the rise of prices of food and fodder, and the non-payment of salaries by the mansabdars or the government, it was rather difficult for a soldier to keep a horse and keep him healthy when he could not feed up his family. Throughout the year the soldier lived on the mercy of the banker who used to lend money to him on interest with the hope to be repaid at the time of some war when he was called for muster. It was the custom that Emperor, in the capacity of commander-in-chief, took the field in person, and as rules of not only loyalty but military discipline demanded, the commanders were to follow his orders and act on lines suggested by him. But the authority of Muhammad Shah had reached such a low ebb that in the battle of Karna, Saadat Khan went for fighting against his orders, and Nizamul Mulk did march to support him even ordered several times by the Emperor. Dr Sen thus describe the army in action against the Marathas. " The Mughul forces are huge in numbers, standing firm only in open ground. The Marathas on the other hand suddenly

erupt at one place today and tomorrow elsewhere some fifty miles away. Then they come round again and execute unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight, plunder and fly away. They fall upon foraging parties, attack weekly, held Mughul posts, capture strategic points and thus inspire confidence among their followers..... They seemed to be ubiquitous and elusive like the wind. When the Mughul forces had gone back, the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed again and resumed their attack as before." The Mughuls still relied on the heavy armour-clad cavalry, and artillery accompanied by thousands of soldiers and heavy baggage. No change was thought out and improved system introduced even after so many failures at the hands of the Marathas.

At the turn of the 18th century musketry had made a rapid progress and gained a prominent place in the method of warfare. Swift rushing cavalry of matchlock men was superior to the army equipped with sword and spear. The secret of Nadir Shah's success lay in the strength of his swift cavalry armed with guns, which put the Indian soldiers to flight in a short time. The Mughul soldiers brave and gallant, believed in the general fighting on foot with swords, spears and arrows, while foreigners brought with them superior fire-arms like well-developed guns and pistols, though they were not unknown in India, but frequently used by the infantry which was held inferior to the cavalry and artiller.

erupt at one place today and tomorrow elsewhere some fifty miles away. Them they came round again and execute unexpected raids, making only a show of a fight, plunder and fly away. They fall upon foraging parties, attack weekly, held Mughul posts, capture strategic points and thus inspire confidence among their followers..... They seemd to be ubiquitous and fl/usive like the wind. When the attacking Mughul forces had gone back, the scattered Marathas, like water parted by the oar, closed a again and resumed their attack as before."[1] The Mughuls still relied on the heavy armour-clad cavalry, and artillery accompanied by thousands of soldiers and heavy baggage. No change was thought out and no improved system introduced even after so many failures at the hands of the Marathas.

At the turn of the 18th century musketry had made a rapid progress and gained a prominent place in the method of warfare. Swift rushing cavalry of matchlock men was uperior to the army equipped with sword and spear. The secret of Nadir Shah's success lay in the strength of his swift cavalry armed with guns, which put the Indian soldiers to flight in a short time. The Mughul soldiers brave and gallant, believed in the general fighting on foot with swords, spears and arrows, while foreigners brought with them superior fire arms like well-developed guns and pistols, though they were not/known in India, but frequently used by the infantry which was held inferior to the cavalry and artillery.

---

1. Sen - Military Organisation of the Marathas. p.

Demoralisation, indiscipline, rivalries among the commanders, heavy equipage of the army, huge cumbersome camp, slow-moving cavalry, and heavy artillery were the main defects of the Mughul army, rendering it totally inefficient and hopelessly useless to stem the tide of the Marathas and the invasions of the foreigners.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIETY and CULTURE.

Social Conditions.

The life at the court was licentious and frivolous, with the Emperor as the dominating figure. Fashions in dress and manners at the court were copied by the people. The Emperor's fondness for Kokiji, Basant and Nur Bai was the talk of hour.[1] The court nobles meticulously immitated the standards of their master's life. Magnificent mansions, crowds of unuchs and concubines, splendid equipage, sumptuous food and grand levees were the prevailing fashions. Ashob says, " The nobles of this time delighted in nothing but childish stories such as that of Hamza the Arab, who fought in seventy two battles although he had become a martyr, in the first of them or the stories of the Shah Nama and the Mahabarat.[2]

The nobles, ministers and high officials had accumulated enorous riches and recklessly squandered them on spectular shows. While the coffers of the imperial treasury were exhausted, their hoards were growing and the stream of gold running from the productive lands of the country was deflected into their rich villas, while the royal palace were the aspect of impoverishment. Ashob writes that Zafar Khan Rustem Jung possessed more wealth than what Pharoh could ever have imagined.[3] Kokiji and

---

1. Basant was a beautiful beardless boy whom the Emperory always kept in his company. Fathiya, f.48(a). Sauda has also written a poem in praise of this fellow. See Kuliyat Sauda.Vol.I. pp.316-17.
   Noor Bai was the famous dancing woman in the court of Muhammad Shah. Irvine Vol.II.p.271. Dargah Quli Khan writes,p.73.
2. Ashob, p. 47,
3. Ibid. p.89.

and Abdul Ghafoor[1] had collected vast sums of money by fradulant means and lived in a princely way. " One when asked to disburse money to put a half finished building in repair before the rainy season, the Shahd dragged the man to the side-room where his treasures were locked up and said, " Here have I locked up for many years the God in whose power all things are; both clouds and rain are under my control, and without my will not a drop of rain can fall.[2] After his fall one Karor of rupees, besides other properties and buildings, was seized by the government.[3] Amir Khan had left 50 to 60 lakhs of rupees worth of jewellery boarded in his house though he had no child.[4] The big nobles like Qamaruddin Khan, the Wazir, and Samsam-u-Daulah, the Amirul Umra had properties of inestimateable worth, large establishments, thousands of horses, camels, and hundreds of elephants, numerous articles of luxury, and maginificent buildings, which had raised them to a status equal to that of the Emperor under whom they served. Zafar Khan's expenditure on illuminations arranged on two occasions, one on the Prophet's birthday, and the other on the Urs of Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhatiyar, was lavish on the extreme.

---

1. Shah Abdul Ghafoor originally belonged to Thatta. He had served a Hindu Fakir who taught him magic spells and incontations. In the reign of Alamgir he left his home and suffering privations and hardships, went to Kabul and there met Bahadur Shah. Since then he remained in his camp, after Bahadur Shah's death he went to Delhi, where he employed himself- to the profession of sooth-saying and making prophecies. In the times of Farrukh-Siyar Muhammad Amin Khan became his patron. He served as a secret messenger between Muhammd Amin Khan and Muhammad Shah's mother Qudsia Begum, when struggle against the Saiyid Brothers was going on. Warid, pp.502-505; Ashob,p.118-119.
2. Warid, p. 630.
3. Ashob, pp.98-99., Shah Namah-i-Deccan, p.234. The author puts the amount to two Karor of rupees.

From the fort walls to the shrine the whole area was transformed into a blaze of light by thousands of candles and earthen lamps. The Emperor himself came on foot with his mother and other ladies of the harem, eunuchs and attendants, sat at the Lahori Darwaza, enjoyed the scene for hours and retired before midnight to his palace.[1] Zafar Khan's house looked like a mountain of gold, the walls and doors were covered with cloths of gold embroidery, decorated with costly hangings, and roofs painted with golden flower-work; from the main gate to the inner apartments, from the drumhouse to the courtyard of Diwan Khana, all walls, doors, roofs and floors were decorated in this fashion. The fountains made of gold and silver, set up in straight lines in the tanks dazzled the eyes of the people when rays of the sun fell on them.[2] In all the buildings of his palace the beds, the sheets, the carpets, even the chiains of the elephants and their coverings, the saddles of the horses and all articles of use were made of gold embroidery works. Once a week he held Majlis-i-Sama which was attended by mystics, saints, ulema and pious persons of the city at his invitation. In a state of ecastapy he tore his gilded clothes and jewellery and gave the pieces to the singers, and threw handful of gold coins and rupees to the gathering. After the meeting was over, they were entertained with meal consisting of several dishes.[3] The display of dowry made by Qamar-un-nissa Begum, eldest daughter of Wazir Qamruddin, wife of Ghaziuddin Khan Firoz Jung, son of Nizamul Mulk, was a captivating scene, an unbroken line of splendour from Hodal to

---

1. Ashob. pp.94-95.
2. Ibid. p. 90.
3. Ashob, p.91.

the imperial palace. " It included 50 to 60 young women servants, all of one age, of Turki, Qalmaq and Qarghiz race, dressed in cloth of gold and adorned with jewels,; over all they wore long clocks of brocade trimmed with gold lace, - on their heads velvet or cloth of gold handerchiefs, held on with chains and rings of gold, and over their faces veils sewn with pearls which left the face quite visible. They surrounded the Begum mounted on horses holding gold and silver sticks in their hands. At their backs hung a bow case with bow and arrows.[1] Samsam-ud-Daulah gave every month grants of twenty thousand rupees to the unemployed and secluded persons, and spent one hundred rupees every day while going from his residence to the fort, though there was no great distance between the two places.[2]

Unbridled sensual license, pederasty and drinking were the main vices prevalent among the nobles. They had abjured manly virtues of simplicity, frugality and industry and wasted enormous wealth on these favorite amusements. The luxurious tastes and love of pomp entailed heavy expenses which had necessitated resort to misappropriation and bribery, and new and offensive taxation on the already hard-pressed peasantry. Amir Khan, dressed in female attire, kept himself engrossed day in and day out in dance and music at his home, where all sorts of base persons gathered to enjoy the performances and admired his taste for the art.[3] His followers were so effeminate in their

---

1. Ashob.p.221.
2. Risalia-i-Khan-i-Dauran.f.93(b).
3. Shah Namah-i-Deccan pp.426, 417.

habits that they applied lampblack (کاجل) to their eye lids black power (بسی) to their teeth, and red-dye (مہندی) to their hands and feet, wore finger-rings, silver bracelets and ear-rings.[1] Wazir Qamruddin once gave seventy thousand rupees to a dancing girl to whom he was passionately attached when she offered him wine in a charming manner in a banquet.[2] Dargah Quli Khan calls the house of Mirza Manu, the paradise of Shadad, for beauties of every character and colour had gathered and embellished the conivial meetings with sweet songs and lovely dances.[3] Meeran, another Amir of Delhi, excelled in making his house resplendent and charming. He had collected a large number of graceful male and female servants. Every day a new face was added to this every growing number. From morning to the late hours of night music and dance continued in his house, which according to Quli Khan was a bed of roses and an abode of beauty. Those jovial gatherings were attended freely by people in hundreds, for, tents were pitched and carpets spread for them. They were enchanted by the bewitching looks of these faces.[4] During the Urs celebrations of Khuld Manzil and Mir Musharaf, debauchry and drinking were common. Mir Kalu held the Urs every year at the tomb, and invited princes and and the sons of Amirs, who with their beloveds went there and pitched there their respective tents. In every tent, singers and dancers displayed their art. At night all became mad in the worship of the Lord of revelry; there was none to prevent,

---

1. J.A.S.B. p.338.
2. Muraqqa-i-Delhi. p.26.
3. Ibid. p.28.
4. Ibid. p.33.

none to advice, everyone was free to do anything he liked. Dancing girls, beautiful boys, wine and meal contributed to orgy. Azam Khan, son of Fidvi Khan, nephew of Khan Jahan Bahadur Alamgiri was one of the big Amirs, and well-known for his mastery in Rag and his indulgence in the vice of pederasty. A part of his income was earmarked for the expenses of beautiful boys who were brought from all parts of the country. They assembled in the music parties at his residence and followed his retinue. Wherever a beautiful boy was seen, he was considered to be belonging to Azam Khan.[1] The music parties arranged by Latif Khan, continued from morning till night, and Nurbai and other dancing girls, male dancers and singers participated in them. Frequently he read the following line.[2]

در حریم بزم مستان دور و رنج و شام نیست گردش جام است اینجا گردش ایام نیست

Kasal Singh, a wealthy mansabdar had also collected large number of dancing women in his house situated in the locality of Kasalpura. Inspite of a large number of Muhatasibs, there was no check on music and dance.[3] Shah Waliullah warned them in these words. " O Amirs, do you not fear God? You are indulged in the transient luxuries of the world. You have deserted those whom you were to guard so that you may destroy and devour some of them. All your intellectual faculties are facussed on taking fine meals and enjoying women of delicate

---

1. Muraqq-i-Delhi p.27.
2. Ibid.pp.28,29.
3. Ibid. p.38.

frames. You do not pay head to anything but tasteful food and big houses.[1]

Not withstanding these frivolities, the nobles were great patorns of art and letters. The growth of Urdu literature in this period was mainly due to the keen interest they took in the works and lives of poets and prose writers. Some of them were poets and accomplished writers, and the taste for poetry was not only an amusement of fancy but almost a serious business. Love for poetry was regarded to be a means to gain favour in the court and fame in the public. An Amir, therefore, claimed himself to be competent in composing verses, or got some reputed poet attached to him who would exalt his patron in the estimate of the people by his poems. Nawab Amir Khan Umadatul Mulk had distinguished himself as one of the greatest patrons of poets and scholars. Witty, clever and eloquent, he was a skilled musician, well-versed in Arabic literature and composed verses with equal facility in Persian and Urdu. His accomplishments and refined tastes had attracted famous contemporary poets like Rasikh, Shakir, Shah Hatim and Mir Zahik, who attended Mushairas held at his place. His nondeguerre was Anjam, and his style was simple, elegant and facile.[2] Nizamul Mulk, a scholar of Persian and poet under the pseudonym of "Asaf", patronised several poets of Delhi

---

1. Shah Waliullah-ki-Saiyasi Mukhtubat. p.6.
2. Tazkrah Rekhta Goyan. p.20.

like Mirza Baidil and Mazhar Jan-i-Jana[1], Samsamu Daulah, Khan-i-Dauran, had fixed one rupee per month as stipend for Mir Taqi Mir[2], one of the greatest poets of Urdu.

The Muslim society was hoplessly split up into several sections by economic and social barriers. The belief in the purity of blood was strong and deep repugnance was entertained by the upper classes towards men of low origin. Zahooruddin Shah Hatim[3], a contemporary poet, laments on the misfortune of the old families, and scoffs at the good economic conditions of the professional men in a spirit of jealously. He calls gold-smiths, barbers, weavers, cloth merchants, water carriers etc. upstarts. "All these persons" says he "are now well off and have amenities once the previlige of the old families."[4]

---

1. Maasir-al-Kram.pp.180181.
2. Tazkirah-i-Mir, p.62. Azad Bilgrami in Khasanah-i-Amra writes that Khan-i-Daurn gave one thousand of rupees to one Rafi on his following verse. (p.246).

   Nawab Sadruddin Muhammad Khan Faeez had very poor opinion about the learning of Samsam-u.Daulah. He writes:

   Diwan-i-Faeez.p.49.
3. Tazkirah-i-Shura-i-Urdu by Mir Hasan.p.78. Tazkirah-i-Hindi p.80.
4. رذالے آج نشہ بیچ زر کے ماتے ہیں
   پہن لباس زری سب سج دکھاتے ہیں
   مسی پہ پان کو کھا کر سرخ رُو دکھاتے ہیں
   کبھو ستار کبھو ڈھولکی بجاتے ہیں

   غرور و غفلت و جوبن کے مدھ میں ہیں سرشار

About the blacksmith and weavers he writes:-

لُہار زور دکھاتا ہے اپنے تالے کا　　یہاں دماغ فلک پر ہے اب رذالے کا
جولاہے دیتے ہیں طعنہ ہر ایک کو ہر بار

Further he writes about them:-

جہاں میں صاحب خس خانہ گھاس والے ہیں　　جنھوں کے محل تھے اُن کو کھنڈر کے لالے ہیں
کئی جو ہم نے بھی ٹکڑے کھلا کے پالے ہیں　　سو اب دماغ میں وہ راضی خاں کے سالے ہیں
وہ ہیں سلام طلب ہم سے جب ہوئے دوچار

The senstive and self-respecting poet seems resolved not to approach to such persons for patronage, for God a great benefactor, and the agonies of the revolutionary age should not distrub his mind, for the scope is wide and means infinite to earn livelihood.

کرے ہے چرخ اگر تجھ اوپر جفا حاتم　　تو سفلہ پاس نہ کر جا کے التجا حاتم
ترے ہے رزق کا ضامن سدا خدا حاتم　　تو انقلاب زمانہ سے غم نہ کھا حاتم
کہ تجھ کو رزق بہت اور روزگار ہزار

The lower classes were ignorant, superstitious and poor, and all progress toward higher moral and material standards, was well-nigh impossible. The nobility had sunk in immorality and smitten with intellectual paralysis and the custodians of religion resigned to the will of God, and were wrapped in illusions of rewards in the future world. The unified and harmonious cultural growth of the society was blocked by social discriminations and inequalities of wealth. Intermarriages for generations caused stagnation and impaired the innate talent that previously characterised the aristocracy, while the middle and professional classes of the society ever remained backward, incapable to contribute their share to intellectual and social progress. When the aristocracy which had profited by t

progress. When the aristocracy which had profited by the retention of old traditions was worn out, no other class was found capable to take its place in order to preserve the stability and solidarity of the society shaken to the core by political upheavals and economic deterioration. Though privilege of birth were made galling by economic inequality, cordiality marked the relations between different classes and each was content with its position, and none was ambitious to shatter the equilibrium of the society by peaceful or violent means.

The education the children did not receive careful attention from their fathers inspite of the available facilities. They were educated in the trade or profession of their ancestors at an early age, and besides reading, writing, and Arithemetic, no opportunity for higher learning was afforded to them. But the sons of officials like Diwans, secretaries, Kazis and Mustis, were taught in all the branches of higher curriculum which included Persian literature, theology, medical science, logic and caligraphy and astrology. A large number of poets, learned scholars, writers, theologists and artists who flourished during this period bear testimony to the high system of education that prevailed in Delhi. Poetry was their exclusive passion, source of all literary yearnings, and sure passport to pupularity. All persons whether Muslims or Hindus, princes, officers, ulema soldiers and professional men had come under the charm of poetry. For instance, Muhammad Aman Nisar was an architect, Husain Bakshi, a cloth merchant, Madh Singh Shagufta, a goldsmith,

Shambhu Nath Aziz, a banker, Mir Sadiq Ali Sadiq, the broker and all indulged in composing verses and feeling proud in having associated themselves to same far-famed poet.[1] Urdu poetry was greatly influenced by the Persian poetry in which the beloved was a male. " As on account of strict purdah the female sex was out of the reach of the poet, he wove the web of his song around beardless boys who were often of Turkish or Mughul origin. When these boys became the centre of attention, they devoted themselves to personal decoration and blandishment and coquety, associated with the female sex.[2] The handsome boys were themselves conscious of the prevailing standards of love and romance, and to be the focus of attraction of amrous persons was regarded by them as a matter of pride and dignity. These self-conceited boys wasted time in the company of poets in attending Mushairas, visiting markets, kite-flying, hawking the birds in nearby meadows, and playing other infoord games, but never attempted to do soething substantial either for themselves/or for the society.[3] Their education was neglected, their morals were debased, and their manly virtues dissipated. They never awoke to the requirements of the time, never armed themselves for the struggle of even physical existence.

The nobles and other wealthy persons wore turbans of the finest linen, so lengthy that the tying process took from three

---

1. Preface to Tazkirah-i-Shur-i-Hind of Mir Hasan, edited by late Habibur Rehman Khan Sherwani.p.14.
2. Muslim University Journal, June, 1935.
3. Kuliyat-i-Sauda, pp.386-390.

to four hours, the one end of the turban interwoven with golden threads, covered half of the face on one side, and on the top was fixed a costly jewelled ornament. The garments, like shirts, coates and trousers, were tightly worn on the body. The also tied their waist with scarf of beautiful cloth. A long dagger was put into the scarf. In their hands they carried sticks[1] of varied forms. The commoners used simple dress which included shirt and shalwar and a turban or cap for the head. In winter the waist-coats stuffed with corded cotten were used by them.

The sweet arts of music and dance were cultivated to a degree unprecedented. No festivity or function whether of social or religious sort could be celebrated without the dancers and singers. The Amirs rewarded musicians and dancing girls with prodigal munificence. Shah's love for music was proverbial. He had attracted many performers of repute to his court. In the city a large number of professional singers and dancing girls were gathered; they were invited by the people on ceremonial occasions.

Delhi was the seat of culture and centre of commerce and industry. In population, in beauty of building and magnifcence of markets, and congenial atmosphere, no other city in India could match it. Here people belonging to different sects, creeds, races, professions, and lands lived, and in its large and rich markets, all types of commodities were sold and purchased every day on a large scale. Sunder Lal, a contemporary historian, writes that the climate of Delhi was

---

1. Chamistan, f.87(a).

moderate, and in every locality and street large number of mosques, khanqahs, schools and places of worship were found.[1] Hazwar Khan Muhammad Aqil in his Masnavi in the praise of Delhi admires its buildings, streets, markets, the beauty, modesty, morality and polished manners of the citizens of Delhi.[2]

گشته عمارات کشاده چنین — آمده فردوس برو ئے زمین
آب و هوا معتدل و خوشگوار — شیفتهٔ فضل خزانش بهار
کوچه و بازار همه کان حسن — دامن دل بسته بدامان حسن
آدمی هر قسم که خواهی همه — حرفه ور و مرد سپاهی همه
رشک پری در رکش دلبری — سایه شان آینه دار پری
پیکر شان خلق و مروّت تمام — مردمی و جود و فتوّت تمام
لبکه در آئین وفا محکم اند — تا دم شمشیر اجل همدم اند
علم و هنر آمده در مشت شان — سیف و قلم نائب انگشت شان

Here people from Iraq and Turkistan have flocked in search of employments, and have raised themselves to high positions by the royal patronage and the hospitality of the local citizens; in Delhi Muslims and non Muslims lived like

مرد مسافر ز عراق و تتار — می رسد این جا ز پی اعتبار
هر که نیاید به وطن نان شام — می رسد این جا به هزار احتشام
هر که ندیدست بجز انش درم — می شود این جا به غنا محتشم
گبر و مسلمان همه را صلح کل — رسته ز هر شاخ چه خار و چه گل

---

1. Majmua-i-Faiz, ff.2.3.
2. Jalwa-i-Dedar.f.21(a).

brothers.[1]

Of all the markets and pleasure-resorts Chandni Chowk was the most beautiful. There the houses and shops were magnificent and well-decorated, the streets were spacious, and gates high and majestic.[2] A long water-channel flowed down the centre of the street, where in the evening people of all classes, and sexes gathered and enjoyed the time under the shadow of trees and in Cofee-houses. Specially the Cofee-houses were the main centres of attration for the idle, the poets and gossip-mongers. There poems were recited and current affairs were discussed.[3] Anand Ram Mukhlis also visted these shops frequently, though he brought coffee prepared from his house.[4] Another place of social gatherings and enoyment was Shauk Sa'dullah Khan occupying a large number of buildings and mosques. Al streets and shops were always crowded by visitors and a newcomer was overwhelmed by the picturesque display of artistic products from all parts of India, and the interesting cultural and professional activities going on on the road sides.[5] In one part of the market dancers and musicians attracted large number of people, while in another quarter professional orators delivered sermons on religious morality or recited poems describing the tragedy of Karbla. The speakers would spend the whole night on one topic and stirred the emotions

---

1. Jalwa-i-Dedar.f.21(a).
2. Muraqqa-i-Delhi, p.17.
3. Ibid.p.18.
4. Chaminstan.f.105(b).
5. Muraqqa-i-Delhi.p.14.

of the people to fever heat by their forceful and effective speeches. After the conclusion of the speeches they collected money from the listeners who had the patience to stay upto the end. In one corner the palmists, astrologers, and geomncers carried their trade, and in another buffoons and clowns were seen making funny performances eliciting outbursts of laughter from the people. There were wine shops to which people went without being checked by the censors of public morals.[1]

The citizens of Delhi were always crazy for outdoor recreation and entertainment. Besides the festivals, fairs and Urs celebrations, they, on holidays, went out for hunting and sightseeing in large number and spent whole day in merry-making. The suburbs of Delhi were full of stately gardens laid out by the Great Mughuls, famous shrines, tombs of saints and kings. On the anniversaries of Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Hazrat Nizamuddin Auliya, and Hazrat Nasiruddin Chiragh, the city presented a gala appearance. Streams of pilgrims including Muslims and non-Muslims, merchants, professional people, soldiers, ministers, nobles and beggars, poured into the open plains.From early morning, men, women and children clad in new dresses, would start from their houses on horses, carts, palkis and on foot, playing and singing on the way, till before noon the whole of Mehroli was crowded to the fullest capacity. Stalls were erected, tents were pitched for nobles and amirs, while the devotees went to the mosque or surrounding buildings, passing their time in prayers and meditation.[2] They placed flowers on the grave, recited Fateha,

---

1. Muraqqa-i-Delhi.pp.16.17.
2. Ibid p.4.

tied threads on the railings of the grave, and invoked the favour of the deceased saint for wordly pruposes.[1] After finishing their meals they would attend to music in which singers and dancing women took part, and passed the whole day and night enjoying the gaiety of the festival.[2] There were also official celebrations in which all people rich and poor took part. These functions were held on the occasion of royal marriages, birthdays, reception of foreign ambassadors and the celebration of a victory. On such functions alms-giving on a large scale was common. Food was distributed among the poor, the streets and buildings of the city were illuminated, and music and dance were performed in open places where wine sups went round, or cold drinks and betel leaves were freely given to the people.

Muslim festivals like I'd and Shab-i-Barat starting with a singular austerity were gradully transformed into social festivaties. The festivals were no longer meant for prayers or doing pious acts, but for illuminations, display of fire-works, playing of frivolous games, and preparations of rich food in large quantity. The orthodox were never reconciled with these practices, and condemned them most vehemently. In this period too Shah Waliullah drew the attention of the people to the growth of abuses which marred the spiritual character of the festivals. He addressed the

---

1. Muraqqa-i-Delhi. p.4.
2. Ibid.

Muslims in his Tafhimat in these words: " You have adopted such false practices which have drastically changed the religion. For example, on the 10th of Muharram, you perform undesirable acts. One section among you has reserved this day for mourning, others have fixed it for games and tamasha, while others indulge in many irreligious things. On the festival of Shab-i-barat you, like uncivilized nations indulge in games and amusements, while others think that large quantities of food should be prepared and sent to their dead forefathers."[1] The Hindus had also several fairs of their own besides important festivals like Dasehra, Diwali and Holi. The mela of Kalka took place twice a year in the centre of Bara Pullah, and according to Rai Chatarman, author of Chahar Gulshan, at least one lakh persons gathered there. The fair of Gadh Mukhtaishwar was important one in which millions of people from Delhi and its neighbouring villages assembled. It continued for fifteen days and covered an area of 12 Kos.[2]

---

1. Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chist. p.362.
2. Chahar Gulshan.ff.37.38.39.

Religious conditions.

In the midst of political crisis and social chaos, degeneration inevitably set in religious institutions. The spirit of the religion disappeared, superstition and credulity got a powerful hold over the minds of the people. Innovations multiplied and vice increased. The study of Quran and Hadis gave place to the worship of graves, superstitious veneration of sacred relics, extravagent indlugence in rituals, too much regard for the sayings of the Sufis.[1] The creemony of the festival was confined only to illuminations, display of fire works, songs, dances and preparation of food in large quantities. Divorce and widow marriage, Zakat and Haj were thought of as outmodded institutions.[2] The celebration of Urs had become the only popular form of religious expression. It was believed that objects used by a saint possessed a miraculous power of healing. The staff, the sandal, the turban, and the rosary of a saint were carefully kept and exhibited by his successors at his own residence or in the Dargah where large number of ignorant persons gathered and looked at them with religious awe.[3] The theologians sank into lethargy and failed to improve the moral standards of the commoners. Devoted exclusively to the study of Greek philosophy, and Arabic grammer, the Ulema involved themselves in petty theological squabbles and trival discussions. They grew hide-bound and dogmatic in their

---

1. 1. Tafhimat (Alfurqan) pp.97-101.
2. Ibid.
3. Al-Balaghul Mubin . p.106.

teachings, and referred to books on Jurisprudence instead of Quran as the main source of faith, quoted spurious Hadis which suited their purpose, and employed unscrupulous methods to gain popularity and earn money.[1] The mystics broke loose form the Shariat, lived on the income from the disciples, formed their own orders and vied with each other for personal greatness. They went astray from the path of devotion and piety and became wordly minded; their Khanqahs were no longer the seats from where celestial rays had once emanated dispelling mists of demoralisation and faithlessness. Virtual collapse of political power coupled with all pervasive degeneration in religious and social institutions, conspired to weaken the spiritual zeal and degrade Islam in the eyes of the non-Muslims. Riven by factions and torn by sectarian jealousies, the custodians of religion ceased to inspire the faithful and infuse in him and intense fervor for Islam.[2]

Revival of Religious Learning.

There arose a majestic representative of the Islamic heritage, to re-establish the faith and to set canons of conduct inconformity with the teachings of Islam. Shah Waliullah (1702-1762) by his independence and originality once again tried to stem the tide of irreligiousness. He urged the theologians to make a close study of Hadis and Quran and regard them as the ultimate basis of Islamic doctrines.

---

1. Tafhimat (Alfurqan) pp.149-50.
2. Shah Namah-i-Deccan. p.230.

The Hadis literature was replete with spurious as well as genuine sayings providing ample scope for misunderstanding and misinterpretation to the students, and as a result people did not regard them so true guide for shaping their religious and social ways of life. Shah Waliullah removed these defects by simplifying the methods of teaching, and making rules to distinguish genuine sayings from the spurious onces. He divided the entire literature of Hadis into two categories, the first containing only such traditions as were commonly accepted and were known as Sahih, like Muwatta Malik, Sahih Bukhari, and Sahih Muslim and the second commonly admitted as Zaif or based on doubtful authority.[1] Shah Waliullah wrote several books explaining his views on the subject. They are as follows:-

1. Musaffa, commentary on Muwatta Malik in Persian.
2. Mussawa, commentary on Muwatta Malik in Arabic.
3. Commentary on chapters of Sahih Bukhari شرح تراجم ابواب صحیح بخاری
4. Mujmu'a Rasail Arb'a مجموعۂ رسائل اربعہ

In addition to this, he wrote his famous ازالۃ الخفا، تفہیمات الٰہیہ
حجۃ اللہ البالغۃ. He is thus credited with having established the first school of Hadis in India. Allamah Rashid Raza has recognised his services in these words. " If the Ulema among the Indian Muslims had not taken interest in the studies of Hadis, the subject would have disappeared from the

---

1. Alfurqan.pp.283-85.

East. For since the 10th century, this subject had fallen into deterioration in countries like Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Hijaz."[1]

To Shah Waliullah the Quran was a great source of inspiration and strength. He interpretated Islam on the basis of it. Hitherto Quran was read only in Arabic, and hence few could utilize it. Bold and original thinker, Shah Waliullah felt that it was high time to popularise Quran and make its teachings more widely known, so that large section of the public could draw maximum benefit from it. With this object in view, he translated the Quran into Persian, which was understood by the majority of the people. After his death, his two sons produced two separate renderings into Urdu, which had for-reaching effects on the spiritual and religious life of the Muslims.[2] In jurisprudence too, he preferred Muwatta to evolve a synthesis between two conflicting and diverse schools - Hanfi and Shafi - for Imam Malik had based his system of deduction on tradition and 'Sunan' rather than on purely Ijma and Qiyas. He emphasised that Muwatta was the common factor between these systems and a balanced view of doctrinal and juridical rules could be derived from it.[3] Besides Shah Waliullah there was a large number of theologians, reputed for their pre-eminence in scholarship. There were teachers, jurists, traditionsts and orators, who had enriched the religious life of the capital.

---

1. Alfurqan.p.238.
2. Ibid.220.
3. Ibidp.321.

Among them the most well-known were: Shaikh Muhammad Ghos, Mian Muhammad Saleh, Shah Abdul Latif, Khwaja Muhammad Saghir, Shah Ghulam Muhammad, Moulvi Zainuddin, Shah Muhammad Murtaza, Shah Muhammad Fazil, Haji Muhammad Sharif, Shaikh Muhammad Ali, and Muhammad Husain.[1] Shah Abdul Aziz writes in his Malfuzat that in the reign of Muhammad Shah twenty two learned scholars and mystics of note resided in the capital, and that was an unusual circumstance.[2]

The later Mughuls were so pre-occupied with political and personal problems that they could take no interest in the establishment and maintenance of schools and colleges. As royal patronage waned, the educational institutions lost the former glamour and subsequently decayed. Nevertheless, nobles and other persons extended their patronage to men of erudition, and made grants for the upkeep of the Madrasas. Most of the Madrasas of this period owed their existence to private efforts and munificence. The Madrasah of Ghaziuddin Khan, Madrasah of Sharfudaulah and Madrasah of Roshanud Daulah were seme of them established by prominent amirs in the capital.[3] Muhammad Shah is credited with having granted a big mansion for the Madrasah of Shah Waliullah.[4] This Madrasah soon acquired universal renoun because of the splendid personality of its founder.[5] His seminary, Madrasah-i-Rahimia, became the nucleus of a revolu-

---

1. Tarikh-i-Hind.pp.604-611-12.
2. Malfuzat Shah Abdul Aziz p.106.
3. Darul-Hakumat Delhi Vol.II.p.286.
4. Ibid.
5. Islamic Culture, 1951.p.133.

tionary movement for the reconstruction of religious thought in Islam. Scholars flocked there from every nook and corner of the country. Indeed the Wali-Ullahi movement symbolized the dawn of a new age in the realm of Muslim theology and literature."[1] Shah Abdul Aziz informs us that there were 125 Madrasas in the capital. Similar madrasas had been founded and patronised by the nobles in other parts of the country. The greatest achievement of the period was the introduction of a new syllabus in these Madrasas. Mullah Nizamuddin of Franghi Mahal, drew up this syllabus, known as "Dars-i-Nizami, which was adopted all over the country, and still is in vogue.[2]

Different Orders Of Sufism.

Chishtiah.

The Chistiah order, introduced in India by Moinuddin Chishti, had acquired an extraordinary popularity through the efforts of its leaders who had devoted themselves to the service of humanity as a means to spiritual exaltation. They had established Khanqahs where disciples were trained and taught in lessions of spiritualism. Their Khanqahs were the centres of all activities; there the disciples were taught and guided, and prepared to carry the candle of their mission everywhere. Their main emphasis was on raising the standards of morals. The disciples thus equipped with spiritual learning, guidance and securing Khalifat scattered all over the country and established their own Khanqahs.

---

1. Islamic Culture, 1951.p.133.
2. See for details Alminhaj . pp.71-74.

REVIVAL OF THE SILSLAH IN THE 18th CENTURY.

Shah Kalimullah Jahanbadi was the a great mystic of the Chishtia order who reorganised it in the 18th century.[1] He established his Khanqah in the Khanem market in the capital, it soon became the nucleus of the new movement for the revival of the Chishtia Silslah, and his fame spread widely.[2] To this seat of spiritual learing flocked all sorts of persons - nobles, scholars, mystics, the poor - in search of spiritual solace and enlightment. The rich, as well as the poor held him in great reverence, and sought his blessings to acquire wordly and spiritual gains. He used to say to his disciples, " We and you should not collect Tanka riches and commodities, but bring the hearts (of the people) together."[3] Shah Fakhruddin was a mystic of vast erudition and had thirty two works to his credit. He emphasised on following the precepts of Shariat, and urged the people to give up worldliness, comfort and easy life, and take up the difficult path of virtue.

NIZAMUDDIN AURANGABADI.

Nizamuddin Aurangabadi was the disciple of Shah Kali-Mullah Jahanabadi, who had trained him with great care and affection.[4] Nizamuddin was sent to Deccan by his teacher. Deccan, in these days, was in great turmoil on account of

---

1. For his early Life - Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht.pp.367-381.
2. Ibid.p.368.
3. Maktubat-i-Shah Kalimullah No.23 p.27.
4. For details of his early life Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chisht pp.227-232.

constant warfare. In the midst of these conditions, Nizamuddin worked among the soldiers with zest and determination. He taught the doctrines of love, morality and truth, and laid stree on self- surrender and indifference towards this world. His labours yielded good results. Not only soldiers but other civilians of the camp set themselves to work for their spiritual welfare and abondoned evil practices not sanctioned by Holy Law.[1] Nizamuddin visited several places, like Bijapur and Burhanpur, but he chose Aurangabad for his permanent residence. In Aurangabad he established his Khankhah and started teaching the seekers of divine knowledge drawn from all classes of people.[2]

SHAH FAKHRUDDIN OF DELHI.

He was the son of Shah Nizamuddin and was born in Aurangabad in 1717. The name 'Fakhruddin' had been suggested by Shah Kalimullah, who had also predicted about the spiritual greatness of the child. Shah Nizamuddin had made excellent arrangements for his early education. Besides the theological knowledge, he learnt medicine and acquired training in the arts of war.[3] His father died when he was 16 years of age. After three years of his father's death, he got himself enrolled as soldier in the army of Nizam-ud-Daulah Nasir Jung in the Deccan. Having mystical learnings, Fakhruddin spet most of his time in meditation, prayers and other forms of worship. For eight years he trode the path of spiritualism, and acquiring

---

1. Maktubat-i-Kalimi .p.22.
2. Nafai-ul-Salakin.p.107.
3. Takmila Siyar-ul-Auliya.pp.106-107.

enlightement, he at last came to Aurangabad and sat down in the Khanqah of his father to spread the message of the Chishtia order. In a short time, his popularity spread like wildfire, and thousands of persons began to visit his place to seekt his blessings.[1] In order to get rid of this ever-growing growd, he resolved to leave Deccan and with two servants he went to Delhi. In Delhi too, he could not escape from crowds of people, who, hearing, that the son of Nizamuddin Aurangabadi, the disciple of Shah Kalimullah Jahanabadi, had come, began to pour in his Khanqah.[2] He later on went to Pak Pattan, and after staying there for sometime, returned to Delhi. There he started imparting education in Hadis in the Madrasah of Amir Ghazi-Uddin situated at Ajmeri Darwaza. He was af scholarly bent of mind, and he wrote three books of great value.

He was rigid in his adherance to the principles of Shariat,. His daily lfe[i] was marked by strict observance of the rules of the Holy Law. He asked the people to understand the true spirit of Islam. His main stree was on five times prayers in congregation, and repudiation of indulgence in ceremonies. He is also reported to have advised the people to read Khutba on Friday Prayers in Urdu.[3] He died in 1199 H at the age of 73 years. Shah Fakhruddin is truly called the Mujadid of Chishtia order, one who revived the order and infused a new

---

1. Takmila-i-Siyar-ul-Auliya. p.109.
2. Ibid pp.111-12.
3. Fakhrul-Talabin.p.46.

life in it. He trained his disciples with great care, kept a friendly eye on their activities, and gave his full spritual blessings to them. Amongst his disciples the most important were Shah Noor Muhammad (Panjab), Shah Niaz Ahmed (Bareilly U.P) Haji Lal Muhammad (Delhi suburbs), and Mir Ziauddin (Jaipur).

NAQSHBANDI SILSLAH.

The Naqshbandi order in India had been introduced by Khwaja Baqi Billah (A.D.1563-1603), seventh in the time of succession of Khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband (A.D.1317-1389), the founder of the order. It was popularised and expanded by Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi, known as 'Mujaddid', the chief disciple of Khwaja Baqi Billah. The mystics of this order laid stree on Sharait and repudiated all types of innovations and abuses that had crept in the religious life of the Muslim. Sheikh Ahmad attacked the doctrine of Wahdat-ul-Wujud expounded by Ibn-i-Arbi, and presented his own thesis, called Wahdat-ul-Shahud. In the 18th century the silsilah was revived by Shah Waliullah, Mir Dard, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Jana, and others who reopened the controversy of Pantheism and Apprentism afresh. They urged the Muslims to go back to'Kitab-o-Sunnat; the Quran, and Hadis, and denounced every other method if divorced from the law of the Prophet.

SHAH WALIULLAH.

Shah Waliullah was a mystic of the highest order. In one of his spiritual visions, while he was going to Kaaba, he had received the light of the Qutbiat (Leader of the Mystic). In other vision he was granted the robe of spirituality and also

informed that he was the 'Qaimuz-Zaman (Leader of the time), and God wanted him to reform the people. " I feel that revelation of these spiritual secrets is intended not only for the perfection and education of my own self, but also for the guidance and betterment of all the people." Shah Waliullah had got the Khilafat from his father in three orders, and when was in Hejaz in 1144 A.H. he received the Khirqa of al most all the orders from the great sufi Abu Tahir Makki. Thus in him the Shah had harmonized the doctrines of all the orders, as well as Shariat and Tariqat. Shah Waliullah was bestowed with rare lalents to see common points in the conflicting theories and bring about an reconciliation between them. As in matters of learning, so in mysticism, Shah Waliullah stands distinguished as one who attempted to harmonize the internal differences among the Sufis. He brought about reconciliation between Shariat and Tariqat, by pointing out that both the ways were right for gaining salvation. " This thing that if both the courses are seen from one angle, so to say, one would appear decidedly superior to the other; but again if they are seen from another angle, the difference would altogether disappear."[1]

But at the sametime he maintained that Tariqat would fail the mystic, specially novice and pseudo-mystic, if the Shariat was ignored by him. Again, he proved that all orders were right, and all mystics were equal in the eyes of God. Furthermore, he brought about a synthesis between Wahdat-u-Wajud and

---

1. See for details- Faishal-i-Wahdat-ul-Wujud-wa-Wahdat-ul-Shuhud. Al-Furqan- Sh.Muhammad Ikram's article on Shah Waliullah.(History of Freedom Movement-Pakistan) Vol.I.

Wahdat-ul-Shahud. In his Faislat-ul-Wahadatul-Wajud wa Wahdat-ul-Shahud, he claimed that God had appointed him to effect a synthesis between the two theories and he would pronounce his judgment as an arbiter after keeping the statements of the exponents of both the views. Shah Waliullah pointed that fundamentally there is no substantial difference between the ideas of Ibn-i-Arbi and the Mujadid. They are relative terms used on two different occasions as arguments about the existence of the Divine Being and His relation with man and the world. It is only a difference of approach to the same reality. By giving an Islamic interpretation to the Sufi doctrines, Shah Waliullah removed the distaste which the Ulama had felt for Sufism and Sufis.

KHAWAJA MIR DARD.

Whereas Shah Waliullah acted as an arbiter in solving the problem of Wahadat-ul-Wajud and Wahdat-u-Shuhud, his contemporary Khawaja Mir Nasir Andlib, father of Mir Dard, discussed the problem in the light of his own religious experiences. In his voluminous book 'Nala-i-Andlib', Khawaj Nasir pointed out " that speaking objectively Wahdat-ul-Wajud is absolutely invalid; it is not the truth about the reality. Objectively Wahdat-ul-Shahud or Apparantism alone is valid. But speaking subjectively, i.e. in their bearing on the Salik, mystic and his spiritual growth, both the doctrines are directed to the same end, viz, to dissociate him from Ma-Siwa or things other than Allah.."

Once in a state of trance Khawaja Nasir saw Imam Hasan who initiated him into a new mystic method and urged him to

call the method, Muhammadia, as it was professed by the Prophet of God. He taught this method to his son Mir Dard who founded on its basis a new order called "Muhammadia". Mir Dard has discussed the problem in his works, Waridat-i-Dard (1160 H) and Ilm-ul-Kitab (1172 H), and has claimed that " each and every word of his Waridat and Ilmul Kitab is divinely inspired." His main contribution to mystic theosophy was the synthesis between legalism and love. According to him man is not only slave but lover of God, containing in him the Divine light (Nur), the highest perfection of an ideal man. But this love is to be subjected to the limits set by the Shariat. He has discussed his ideas in his famous book 'Ilmul Kitab'. His other works on mysticism are Wardati-i-Dard, Nalai-i-Dard, Ah-i-Sard, Dard-i-Dil and Shama-i-Mahfil. " I am not a Sufi that I may open a new chapter on Tasawwuf, nor am I a Mullah that I may start discussion and disputation. I am sincere adorer of Muhammad, and I am intoxicated with his pure wine. From one who is thus drunk, you should expect to hear the tale of the beloved only. Dard is like a nightingale from whom you may hear his plaint. It is through him that the plaint of the nightingale is made intelligible."[1]

MIRZA MAZHAR.

Mirza Jan Janan, son of Mirza Jan, was one of the most celebrated saint in the Naqshbandia order. He was the fourth

---

1. Nala-i-Dard (Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture) p.65.

spiritual descendant of the Mujaddid.[1] He also wrote Urdu poetry and his nom de plume was Mazhar. Mir speaks very reverently of him and describes him ' as a Darvaish full of piety and sanctity, a learned man, full of grace and accomplishments, incomparable honoured and esteem'. In spiritualism he was the disciple of Nur Muhammad Badauni. After his death in 1135 A.H. Mirza Mazhar underwent training in spiritualism for several years. After the continous efforts of 30 years, he found himself capable to teach others. He settled in Delhi and taught large number of persons the lessons of self-surrender and devotion to Holy Law. He visited places like, Sambhal, Amroha, Muradabad, Shahjahanpur in Rohillkhand.[2]

---

1. Maarif No.3. Vol.50 - 1942.pp.255-64.
2. Maktubat - No.35, 27,40.
   Mamulat Mazharia - pp-15.16.17.

L I T E R A T U R E.

GROWTH OF URDU LITERATURE.

The first half of the 18th century is the most glorious period for the growth of Urdu Literature. Urdu not only made a definite start but attained perfection to a great extent. It acquired a form, content and power. It secured a new position and became the rival of the Persian.

The most distinguished poet of the period was Shamsuddin Wali (1668-1744), who is most appropriately called the 'Father of Rekhta'[1]. His two visits to Delhi (one in 1700 and the second in 1722) served greatly to inspire the poets of Northern India to compile Diwans in Persian style. His own Diwan, having Persian subjects and the Delhi idioms was hailed by the citizens of Delhi, and leapt into instant fame. It was highly appreciated by them, and his poems were sung in public places, court, markets, streets, social and religious gatherings[2]. His poetry is steeped in love. His style is simple, elegant and chaste. There is great emotional appeal in his verses, " which are eloquent, flowing, and spontaneous and have no signs of labour.[3] He made definite departure from the beaten track and introduced subjects which were natural and modern.

The influence of Wali over Northern India was tremendous.

---

1. For the details of his life-Kuliyat-i-Wali by Dr.N.H.Hashmi pp.11-14 (Preface).
2. Nikat-ush-ura pp.89-90. Tazkirah Rekhta Goyan.p.144.Tazkira Shurai-Urdu.p.204. Chaminstan-i-Shurap.104.
3. Saxena- p.44.

His Diwan not only served as a model for the poets of Delhi, but encouraged them to enrich Urdu prosody by compiling Diwans on the pattern set by him. As a result great pioneers arose who condolidated the language, purified and refined it. They discarded obsolete words and excluded excessive rhetoric and figures of speech. Further, they imported abundantly Persian idioms, allusions and similies. They borrowed 'Ahyam' or double-meaning from Bhasha, and used sufistic terms in their poems.

The famous poets of this period were Faiz, Abru, Arzu, Hatim, Mazmun, Naji, Taban, Yakrang, Sauda, Dard and Mir.

The first poet in Northern India who compiled a Diwan in Rekhta was Nawab Sadruddin Muhammad Khan Faiz, Delhvi.[1] Hatim was the next most celebrated poet who founded the Delhi School of poetry which gave an impetus to the movement initiated by Wali. His merits as a poet were recognised by contemporaries and he was considered as the master of Rekhta. There were 45 poets who learnt the art of versification from him. He wrote two Diwans, one very voluminous, full of 'Ahyam; and another known as 'Diwan Zada' an abridged edition of the former.[2] He also wrote a Diwan in Persian. About his poetry he writes, " I have been practising the art of poetry for 40 years from 1129 to 1169 A.H. (1716-1755) A.D." He gave up uncouth words and obsolete idioms. He employed those Arabic and Persian

---

1. Diwan-i-Faiz p.8.
2. Diwan-Zada, edited by Molvi Dr.Sirajul Haq Kureishy.

words which were " easy, elegant and fluent, and used in common paralance amongst the polished." " I also insist," he further writes, " on a mastery in the construction of verses and I attempt at polished eloquence." One of his distinguished pupils who carried the Rekhta poetry to the highest level was 'Mohammad Rafi Suda'.[1]

Suda was the originator of two new forms in Urdu poetry, i.e. Qasida and Hijv, laudatory odes and satire, and in these he excelled all comtemporaries and subsequent poets.[2] It shall not be an exaggeration if we place him side by side with the greatest masters of Persian like Urfi, Khaqani and Anwari.[3] He was a born satrist and had a natural talent and aptitude for it. Satire which is " the humourous or caustic criticism of man's faults and feibles in all their manifestation, the hotch-pot or farrago of the vagaries of human conduct,"[4] reached the high watermark in his composition. He raised satire from an indifferent form of workmanship into the front-rank and made it a piece of art. In his Tazkih-i-Rozgar (the Drision of the age) he has surpassed his rivals. His lively wit, sarcastic humour and his admirable command of language made his satire very keen and biting. His influence on his contemporaries and successors was supreme. He imported Persian

---

1. Saxena p.49. Tazkira-i-Hindi - p.80.
2. See for details of his life Sauda by Shaikh Chand pp.35-87.
3. Gulshan-i-Hind p.6., Dastur-ul-Fasahat- p.118.
4. Cambridge History of English Literature Vol.VIII.p.58.

expressions, constructions, metaphors, similies, allusions and idioms and wove them skilfully into its texture. He had great capacity for coining new words. He fused and blended Hindi and Persian words. " Some of his masters are very difficult and the Radifs and Qafias are stiff, but they show his mastery and skill in negotiating difficult constructions, and achieving success where others failed."[1]

MIR DARD - 1133-1199.A.H.

Mir Dard was not only a great Sufi but a poet of fame, who set new standards in the composition of Urdu Ghazals.[2] Unlike Sauda or other comtemporaries, he never indulged in lampoons or cheap love, but on the otherhand, his ideas were sober, his thoughts sublime, chaste and refined. His poetry is permeated with Sufism and spiritualism, and there is an air of patthos which invests the poems with charm and appealing force. He wrote poetry only in inspired moments, and in the heat of emotions, and, as a result, his output is less than others who wrote for the sake of writing. He is one of those who cleared Urdu poetry from vagueness and polished and refined it. His influence over the contemporaries was great and they all all held him in high esteem. He was a source of inspiration and guidance for others. Mir speaks highly of him and raises him to a position of a pre-eminent poet.[3]

---

1. Ghulam Sarwar. (Dryden and Sauda - A comparative Study) Reprint from M.U.Journal, June, 1935, p.56.
2. Aba-i-Hiyat - pp. 225-30., 3. Nikat-ushura pp.49-50.

MIR TAQI MIR.

Mir Taqi whose nom de Guerre was Mir was the most celebrated poet of his time, and is popularly called Khuda-i-Sakhun, or 'God of Poetry'.[1] He was the greates Ghazal-writer. Ghalib, Nasikh and others have recognised his merits as master of Urdu poetry. " The chief of the poets of Hindustan, the most eloquent of the eloquents of his time, a heart-attracting poet, and imcomparable writer of veres."[2] Besides Hasan, other writers of Tazkras have lavished the highest encomiums on Mir and his poetry. He was a born poet. Senstive, self-respecting and one who underwent trials and tribulations throughout his life fortitude. His poetry is filled with pessimism. Pathos and despondency have added charm and beauty to his poetry. He used Persian constructions only to the extent if they agreed with the construction of the Rekhta idioms. His domain was Ghazal in which no one could compete with him.[3] His verses are simple, eloquent, poignant, winged with pathos and pain. They have the greatest appealing power and force. In the ardour of passion, in the melody and music, in the felicity of phrase, in the ecstacy of feeling, his Ghazals rank the best in Urdu literature. Many of his verses have that haunting quality which is regarded as a hall-mark of true and great poetry."[4]

---

1. For details of his Life - Mir Taqi Mir by Dr.Khawaja Ahmad Farooqi - pp-51-69.
2. Tazkira-i-Shura-i-Urdu - p.174.
3. Mir Taqi Mir - pp.321-375.
4. Saxena . p

PERSIAN LITERATURE.

Persian still continued its hold, though weakened to some extent by this time. It was the Court language and the language of nobility and gentry. It had taken its roots deep in the soil and its knowledge determined the status of a person in Court or society. Being the medium of culture and knowledge, it was the language of great poets, philosophers, and writers. Urdu was its hand-maiden, in vocabulary and expression, though it could not claim equality with Persian. All documents of state and Firmans were written in it, correspondence among the nobles was carried in it, exordia and prefaces, Tazkiras and histories were written in the Persian language. It is true that the brightest stars like, Faizi, Urfi and Nazeeri, in the firmament of Persian poetry did not appear during this time, but some of the greatest figures like Hazin, Bidil, Arzu, Faiez, Mukhlis, Azad Bilgrami, Nadeem and Sahir arose who kept the torch bearning. Hazin is best known for his memoris (Tazkirat-ul-Ahwal) composed in 1741-42, which was translated into English by F.C.Balfour in 1830-31. He composed an account about hundred contemporary poets entitled Tazkirat-ul-Mu'asrin. Azad Bilgrami is also the author of several works. Other poets who flourished during this period were :- Qazalbash Khan Omeed, Suleman Quli Khan Daud, Ali Quli Khan Nadeem, Murtaza Quli Khan Firaq, Shaikh Saadullah Gulshan etc. They all had their Diwans and other works to their credit. Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah wrote his Diwan in Persian.

MUSIC.

Muhammad Shah was a great patron of art and music. In his Court were gathered the finest musical talents of the age. The Khyal style of singing, which had been invented by Sultan Husain Sherki in the 15th century, was brought to a state of perfection by two performers of repute attached to his Court - Adrang and Sadrang. Most of the melodies composed and sung by those two artists are associated with the name of Muhammad Shah who had earned the appellation of Rangila (Coloured) on account of his gay character. Enticing, classical adornments were the feature of many new modes, like Rekhta, Qaul Qual, Tarana, Tarvat, Gazzal, Kubana, marsia, Soz etc. Naimat Khan, Advat Sen, Rahim Sen, Sh.Moinuddin, Qasim Ali, Husain Khan, Debi Singh, Boli Khan, Shujaat Khan, Taj Khan, Baj Khan, Ghulam Ali, Nur Muhammad, were men of fame. Among the dancers attached to the Court were Nur Bai, Panna Bai, Roshan, Bai Kalan, Bai Khurd, Burj Kunwar, Ramzani, Ganga, Kali Ganga, Aqila, Nanhi Bai, and Champa.[1] Muhammad Shah was the Mughul Emperor who patronised music. The Tappa style of Hindustani singing was perfected by one Shori during this period. Many new types of songs and music were also introduced.

---

1. Tazkirah Shakir Khan - ff.112(b), 113(a).
See also Mirat-i-Aftab Numa

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.

The Emperor was keenly interested in the scientific study of astronomy. He encouraged and patronised the astronomers who were engaged in their original research work. The most eminent worker who made contribution to the study of astronomy was Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur. He erected in Delhi an astronomical observatory under the directorship of Mirza Khairullah Mehandas, and equipped it with instruments brought from Central Turkistan and Europe. Some of the instruments he had himself invented. The observatory known as Jantar Mantir (Yantar Kandir) still stands as a testimony to the greatness of the Raja as an astronomer. He erected observatories at Jaipur, Muthra, Benaras and Ujjain. Several works on astronomy were translated in Hindi from Arabic by the orders of the Raja. A new Calendar, named Zij Muhammad Shahi, was prepared on the patern of Ulugh Beg, Mulla Chand and Mulla Farid Shahjahani.[1]

Astrology, a handmaid of astronomy, governed every act of life in these days. Kings, nobles, and masses who resorted to astrologers to know the future. ' The planets hung like a lowering cloud over all men's lives! Muhammad Shah kept a staff of star-gazers who pointed out the auspicious and evil moments for all of his actions. Among those who had been employed by him for this purpose were, Munajjim Khan, Hadi Ali Khan, Mirza Khairullah, Shah Abdur Rasul, Naeem Khan, Mirza Abdul Kareem.[2]

---

1. Bazm-i-Taimuria p.314.
2. Tarik Tazkirah-i-Shakir Khan f.112(a).

ARCHITECTURE.

While fine arts of music and dance continued to show extraordinary vitality in this period, architecture rapidly declined. Austere and frugal, Alamgir was not the least interested in buildings and spending money over their constructions. His successors were to engrossed in their affairs as to spare time and money for the construction of monuments. The entire age is barren and bespeaks the bankruptcy, and depressing political and economic conditions which acted as a check on this artistic expression. Muhammad Shah is not credited with the erection of a single structure. On the other hand, his nobles constructed some mosques and bridges, which were only hollow imitation of the magnificent monuments of the preceeding age. The fact that the Emperor possessed no wealth while his nobles and ministers grew richer, is convincingly proved by this deplorable distinction.

Roshanud Daulah Zafar Khan had constructed two mosques in Delhi, are known as Sunehri Masjid near Kotwali, in 1134 H, and the other, as Masjid Roshan-ud-Daulah, in 1137 H. On both the structures he had spent lavishly. The domes and minarets were painted with gold, which added charm and beauty to the buildings. Sharfud-Daulah built a mosque in Dariba in Delhi, but it was not so fine. Qamruddin Khan and Nawab Zakirya Khan are also reported to have erected two mosques in Lahore during the reign of Muhammad Shah.

Painting exhibited the same decline. To the credit of Muhammad Shah it may be said that he kept up the spirit by keeping a number of painters in his Court.[1]

---

1. Miftah-ul-Tawarikh . pp308-309

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

Character and Estimate of Muhammad Shah.

Muhammad Shah possessed neither the qualities of a soldier nor those of a statesman, though he was cunning enough to indulge in plots against his Wazir and other nobles when they challenged his authority. The best part of his youth he had passed in prison, and, untrained in the arts of civil administration or the conduct of military operations, he was all of a sudden raised to the throne and utterly prove unfit to solve the problems that faced the government. Though kind hearted and well-meaning, he was ill-educated, inexperienced and shrank from matters of state. Indolent and pleasure loving, he gave himself up to the enjoyments of dance, music and sports. The cares of government or problems were never allowed to disturb his repose.[1] The elegant arts of music and dance were used to revive his languid spirits, a confused multitude of women, clowns and bufoons were ghthered to gratify his low appetites. He affected the dress and manners of females,

---

1. Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. f. 165(b).
   Sahifa-i-Iqbal. f. 31(a).
   Shah Namah-i-Deccan p. 138.
   Tauhar-i-Samsam. (Elliot, Vol.VIII). p.73.

preferred hunting in the nearby orchards and meadows to fighting in the open against his enemies.[1] Though the amours and expliots of Jahandar Shah were not repeated, rules of Court etiquette and public virtue were violated by his excessive love for Kokiji, his affection for Basant, a beardless boy, and Nur Bai, the famous dancing girl of the capital, whom the master of the Mughul crown loved, and who later on, was abducted by Munawwar Khan, brother of Roshn-ud-Daulah.[2] Gay and genial, patient and forbearing, he was prone to forgive faults of his subordinates who showed ingratitude in return for their master's generosity.

From the outset of his reign, he had little opportunity to follow an independent course of action. He was surrounded by selfish courtiers and officials and caught in a net-work of intrigue and counter-intrigue. The problems were so complex, that a mediocrity like him, could not solve them. He singularly lacked in martial ordour, ability for organisation or resourcefulness. He had no skill or strength to keep his nobles in check, make them work for the state and prevent them from exploiting both the people and the government. He gradually withdrew himself from all cares of government, and placed himself in the hands of his ministers.

Under the tutlege of the Saiyid brothers, he had no

---

1. Akhbarat - date 21st,24th,25th of April, 1743.
   Akhbarat dated 6th May, 1743.
   Shah Namahi Deccan p.97., Hadisa-i-Nadir Shah f.3(b).
2. Ashob. p. 86., Warid p.510., Shah Namah-i-Deccan p.141.
   Kuliyat-i-Sauda . pp 316-317 Vol. I.
   Murqqa-i-Delhi. p.73.

freedom to move in the company of nobles, and issue commands according to his will. He was seen in the Diwan-i-Khan once a week, but only to approve the decisions already taken by the Chief Minister and the Paymaster. After the battle of Hasanpur, he is reported to have held his Darbar regularly and conducted the business of the state seriously. After the morning prayers he would first go to the Jharoka window where he witnessed elephant fights, reviewed troops and heard petitions.[1] From there he went to Diwan-i-Khas where he interviewed the officials, the governors and chiefs were introduced who offered presents and received robes of honour and other gifts. New appointments, promotions and transfers were made and reports from provinces were submitted and orders issued by the Emperor.[2] His next engagement was the visit to Diwan-i-Adalat. Here Muhammad Shah received minor officers, granted gifts, and issued orders to them, dispensed justice and heard petitions of the Faujdars, revenue collectors and mansabdars.[3] On Friday he did not attend to public business but went in the company of learned theologians or in almsgiving.[4] The evenings were sometimes spent in hunting, visiting gardens, and shrines or witnessing elephant fight. Muhammad Ali Khan, author of Tarikh-i- Muzaffari, informs us of the Bell of Justice in the Burj Mussamin, whose chain lay on the ground below the fortwall, following the practice of

---

1. Sahifa-i-Iqbal f.31(a). Kamwar. f.202(b).
2. Kamwar.ff.196-200.
3. Ibid.
4. Akhbarat-i-Darbar Maulah Vol.II.

Jehangir, but in the absence of any record about its working, and considering the growing laxity in the administration, it can be inferred that it was not used very often.

Muhammad Amin Khan, the arch-conspirator and the skilful demagogue, had kept the Emperor under salutary restraint, himself directing the public affairs and not tolerating any negligence of work in the departments. But when Kokiji and her clique tightened their comprehensive grip on the royal authority, the government fell in gross corruption and incompetence. Nizamul Mulk tried, to purge curruption, but his efforts failed because of the office-hunting and power-seeking persons and he was dubbed as traitor. His resignation marked the beginning of a widespread confusion and laxity in the government manned by upstarts. Muhammad Shah " paid no attention to the administration of the kingdom, which lacked all supreme authority, and through his indolence, unrelieved by an exertion he fell and came to an end."[1]

Throughout his reign Muhammad Shah confined himself to the fort and never went out to lead military campaigns except the two expeditions, against Nadir Shah and Ali Muhammad Khan Rohilla which only exposed his utter incompetence. In the later years of the reign, major part of his time was engrossed in music and dances at night. Another diversion was to witness the weekly-held market on the sandy bank of the Jumna below the walls of the palace, where he purchased birds and

---

1. Tauhar-i-Samsam. (Elliot Vol.VIII) p.73.

animals, and visited the orchards laid out by his orders to which he had given the name of Aishmahal. " We wonder", writes Sarkar, " Whether such spectacles would be considered a worthy diversion by anyone outside a nursury unless he were a country clown, and whether the lord of a hundred and fifty million souls at the ripe age of 41 had no more serious use of his time and no more refined tastes."[1] The resultant state of affairs is revealed in this passage of Tarkh-i-Ahmad Shah. " Muhammad Shah, from the commencement of his reign, displayed the greatest carelessness in his government, spending all his time in sports and play. This neglect on the part of the soverign was speedily taken advantage of by all the Amirs and nobles, who usurped possession of Subas and Parganas, and appropriated to themselves the revenues of those provinces which in former days were paid in the royal treasury, and amounted to several Karors of rupees."[2]

The last decade of Muhammad Shah's reign had witnessed the horror and tragedy of two terrible foreign invasions, occupation of Malwa and Gujrat by the Marathas, imposition of Chauth on the eastern provinces, complete severance of Haiderabad from the centre, establishment of Rohilla power in the Gangetic Doab, and the loss of Trans-Indus region which became a happy hunting ground for invaders and local turbulent elements. It was in this fateful period that public exchequer was exhausted government machinery weakened, army demoralized, and the crown lost much of its former prestige and dignity. The cities as

---

1. Sarkar. Fall of the Mughul Empire. Vol.I. p. 4.
2. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah (Elliot Vol.VIII). p.105.

well as the villages were subjected to plunder and rapine. Muhammad Shah who lived up through these years, was wearing out in health day by day as province after province of the empire was slipping away from his feeble grip. Cooped up within the walls of his palace, despair and depodency seized him, his health was impaired by excessive drink and opium, and in the end he became a complete invalid. Weak in constitution, he later had an attack of paralysis which accompanied by serious dysentary made him bedridden. The court physicians, Nawab Alvi Khan Bahadur, Nawab Ali Naqi Khan Bahadur and Muhammad Akbar Khan endeavoured their utmost to cure him but their measures proved of no avail.[1] Oneday he was carried in a litter to Masjid Sangi gate, which was inside the court, and there sat in a state with all his nobles and attendants. All of a sudden he fainted, and was taken away to his apartments. The next morning on the 27th Rabi-us-Sani, in the 31st year of his reign, 15th April, 1748, the Emperor breathed his last.[2] He was then 49 years old.[3]

Mirza Ahmed, his only surviving son was still on his way from Sirhind to Delhi. The news was not disclosed and the corpse of the deceased soverign was put in a lang wooden case of European style covered with a sheet, the attendants

---

1. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah (Elliot, Vol.VIII) p.111.
   T.M. p.277.
   Bayan. f.70(b).
2. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah. p.111.
3. Ibid.

had procured from the Darogha of Kitchen, on the pretext of using it as a dinner cloth, and buried it in the garden. At Panipat, the Prince received the letter, calling him to the capital to assume royalty, but Safdar Jung crowned him there and then. On reaching Delhi on May 2, he encamped at the Shalamar gardens and here coronation ceremony took place. The corpse of Muhammad Shah was buried in the Shrine of Nizamuddin near the grave of his mother.[1]

Muhammad Shah left behind him one son, viz, Prince Ahmed, now Mujahiduddin Ahmed Shah Bahadur Ghazi, who was born to Adham Bai, dancing girl and one daughter known as Hazrat Begum born to Saheba Mehal, and later married to Ahmad Shah Abdali. Saheba Mehal was the cousin of Malika Zamani, the Emperor's first wife and the daughter of Farrukh-Siyar.[2]

Thus passed away " the last of the rulers of Babur's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left to it."[3] To hold Muhammad Shah entirely responsible for the decline would be an exaggerated statement. The problems he had to face were complex and the situation in which he had to work was grave.

In the monarchical system, nobility formed a great source of power and strength, it was its backbone. The ultimate responsibility/to conduct the administration and fight wars

---

1. I. Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah pp.111-112.
   T.M.
   Delhi Chronicle. p.87.
2. Nadirat-i-Shahi . p.6.
3. Sarkar. p.6.

was theirs. But they had become corrupt and clique ridden. Their mutual jealousies rent them asunder, dividing them into factions, each engaged in pushing the fortune of its members by creating hurdles in the way of their rival groups. They kept on formenting distrut and suspicion against each other by means of dexterious intrigues. Thus the court had turned into a chess-board where the game of party plitics was played by different sections of the ruling class in a most vicious way. The nobles and chiefs finding, that career was not open to merit, that their posts were not secure, that the soverign was no longer a source of inspiration and guidance, gave themselves up either to pleasure or to sedition. They would try their utmost to stay at Delhi, where they could maintain their position. Under an atmosphere fraught with fear and suspicion, no chief would leave the court for distant campaigns, where he was sure to court disaster and dig his own grave by providing golden chance to his rival for discrediting him in the eyes of the Emperor. In the reign of Muhammad Shah Mughul Court was divided into Turani and Hindustani parties. Nizamul Mulk and Qamruddin were at the head of the former, while Khan-i-Dauran and Raja Jai Sing were the leaders of the latter. After the invasion of Nadir Shah, both these groups suffered a severe setback, and their place was taken by the Irani leaders including Amir Khan and Safdar Jung. They had laid bare their daily widing rift before the public on several occasions. The shoe-seller's riot started on communal basis ended in hand to hand combat between the Mughuls and the Indians in the mosque of Delhi. One day in the presence of the Emperor, Muzaffar Khan and Saadat Khan grappled with each

the Emperor, Muzaffar Khan and Saadat Khan grappled with each other on a very minor issue. Saadat Khan after striking blows, cast him under his feet. The Emperor laughed and the Indian noble remained tight-lipped. Warid says that the ignominous degradation suffered at the hands of rioters by the nobles in the mosque, where their turbans had been taken off by them, was a just reply to their vanity and highhandedness.

Another potent source of weakness was the absence of any law of succession in the Mughul system. " Its uncertainity had encouraged every prince to aspire to the crown, to ingratiate himself with his father, to form cliques, to undermine the influence of his brothers, if not to attempt their lives, to stoop to the lowest depths of baseness and cruelty. They sought to unsettle the settled fact, they intrigued, they warred." Every war of succession caused unspeakable disaster and havoc sappling the imperial strenght. Within little more than a decade after Aurangzeb's death seven fierce battles for imperial succession were fought in which princes, nobles, and large number of soldiers perished, treasures were wasted and the whole administrative machinery was upset.

The imperial treasury, as a natural corollerly to these chaotic conditions, rapidly grew impoverished. The range of Khalsa lands was narrowed down, subjecting the Emperor to abject poverty and financial distress. The nobles too lost hold over their jagirs, and resorted to unfair means to get money for their expenses.

The soldiery,completely demoralised,became impatient of central control and broke in mutiny, and gratified their

avarice by plundering villages and towns because their salaries were not regularly paid. The zeal with which the generals had fought in former days had faded away. Selfishness instead of devotion to a cause governed their conduct, and personal and sectarian differences kept them every divided. The Mughul generalship failed to adapt their strategy and technique of warfare to the exigencies of new situations. Their armies were unwieldy, their camp like a moving city, with bazars, tents for women and servants, a large number of hangerson and camp-followers making nobility impossible. The Mughuls could not break old traditions, and consequently were buried under their weight. They again and again suffered defeats at the hands of the Marathas in the guerrilla warfare, but, for reasons of prestige, they neither reduced unnecessary paraphernalia, nor trained their soldiers in guerrilla tactics. They further failed to take notice of the growing importance of the sea-power.

One of the crucial problems confronting all the Muslim rulers had been the way how to deal with the chiefs of small principilities and the governors of the provinces. The problem centred round the conflict between the centrifugal and centripetal forces. From the very beginning we find two tendencies, one tending to the creation of one central government and the other to the establishment of smaller political entities. On the one hand there was a persistent desire on the part of great Emperors to achieve the ideal of all India soverignty and on the other was the potent urge on the part of petty local chiefs, for regional independence and territorial expansion. The

most important factor in giving impetus to the desire for regional independence was the Bhakti movement which flourished during the 15th and 16th centuries, and under special conditions the movement assumed anti-Islamic form and became a powerful force for political sepration in seme areas such as Maharashtra and the Punjab. As there was no enlightened middleclass, the leadership of these movements remained in the hands of the local feudal chiefs, who patronised them to gratify their own territorial ambitions. These movements were neither religious nor national but tribal and regional. Not only martial races of the Hindus like Jats and Sikhs were at war with the imperial government but the Afghans and the Rohillas strove to set up their own independent kingdoms. These forces had existed in this country, all along but when the sceptre was in strong hands, they lay underground and burst forth with fierce violence, when imbeicle kings controlled the destiny of the people. The provincial governors who had been kept exceptionally for a long time in their charges, grew bold, broke off with the central government and assumed independence. The first who embarked on this ambitious scheme and almost succeeded in its excution was Nizamul Mulk, the governor of Oudh, Saadat Khan, imitated his example, while the governors of Eastern provinces had for long enjoyed local freedom unquestioned by the corwn. The advantages følowed from local independence were peace, and prosperity, and people made progress in arts and industry under the rule of an able, just and benevolent governoss.

During this period the relations between the Hindus and Muslims were extremely cordial and the two communities had

evolved a common culture out of the social orders. Notwithstanding certain differences in religious beliefs and rituals, their social customs and manners resembled each other so much that Hindus and Muslims seemed to have formed one nation. "It rests upon no unwarranted assumption, but upon well ascertained facts, that Hinduism and Muhammadism have acted and reacted upon each other, influencing social institutions, colouring religious thoughts with their mutual, typical and religious lines, these being conspicious illustrations of the union of the two streams of Hinduism and Islam which since Muslim conquest, have flowed side by side in India."[1] Resemblance in social ceremonies and pecularities of wedded life, unity of language and similarity of dress, could apparently be noticed in Delhi. Both Hindus and Muslims took part enthusiastically in each others festivals, fairs and social festivaties. Hindus visited the shrines of Muslim saints while Muslims went to Hindu jogis[2] and astrologers for favour and guidance. The later Mughul showed remarkable tolerance towards Hindus by abolishing Jaziya, appointing Rajput chieftains as provincial governors, giving key posts in civil administration and conferring high ranks on them. Raja Chabella Ram Nagar, Deya Bahadur, Raja Ajit Singh, Raja Jai Singh and Raja Abhai Singh were the leading nobles of the empire. There was a locality in Delhi called Jai Singh Pura where Rajputs lived mixed with the Muslims in social gatherings and took part in local affairs.[3] There was another locality called Vakilpura,

---

1. Some Bihar Contemporaries by Dr.S.Sinha, p.186.
2. Akhbarat (Vol.III, part 5, p.10, dated February,1721.
   Shiv Das. p. 131., Virvinod, p. 1150, (Vol.II, part 3).
3. Ashob, p. 144.

where Hindu vakils lived and passed peaceful life. The whole secretriat of the central government was filled with Hindu secretaries and clerks who were held in high confidence for their honesty and efficiency. It was unimaginable that a Muslim minister could govern the revenue department without having a Hindu officer as his Diwan or secretary. Raja Sabha Chand, Diwan of Zulfiqar Khan, Raja Ratan Chand secretary to the Saiyid Brothers, Raja Bhagwant Rai, Rai Bhog Chand, Rai Tond Rai, secretaries to Muhammad Amin Khan, and Anand Ram Mukhlis, Diwan to Qamaruddin Khan, are the few names in the long list of Hindu civil officers who had achieved high status in society by virtue of their ability and integrity. Thus Hindus and Muslims in the capital were on the same level. The same economic and social standards guided their habits and hobbies, and same political exigencies governed their weal and woe.

The virtual collapse of political power, insecurity of civil life and enonomic discontentment made men and women ~~to~~ bitter and pessimistic. In order to seek escape from the hardships of life, they resorted to the pursuit of pleasure. True religion was pushed into the background, the cult of the saints and superstitious beliefs gained hold over the educated as well as the masses, ' Standards of morality decayed; ugly vices raised their head. The virus of moral laxity infected in varying degree the entire society.' The pent up desires of courtiers and citizens, restrained under the Puritan Alamgir found full expression in those days.

A P P E N D I X

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

CONTEMPORARY.

P E R S I A N.

Ahwal-al-Khawaqin. Qasim Aurangabadi, written 1151 H. Rotograph of B.M.Ms.Rieu I 276, Add 26,244 (Aligarh).

Ajaib-ul-Afaq. Anonymous -written 1150 H. Rotograph of British M.Rieu, iii 986; Or 1776 (Aligarh).

Akhbarat-i-Maullah. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris,Ms. (Sitamau Transcriptions used).

Anfas-ul-Arafin. Shah Wali-Ullah. Lithographed Mujtabai Press, 1917.

Bahadur Shah Namah Or Tarikh-i-Shah Alam Bahadur Shah. Nimat Khan, (Aligarh Ms.)

Bayan-i-Waqai. Munshi Abdul Karim Kashmiri (Aligarh Ms.)

Balmukand Namah. Munshi Deya Ram(Patna Ms.).

Chaminstan. Anand Ram Kukhlis(Patna Ms.)

Ibrat Namah. Mirza Muhammad bin Mutamid Khan (Patna Ms.).

Ibrat Namah. Muhammad Qasim Lahori, written, 1135 H. (Patna Ms.)

Jaipur Records. Sitamau Transcriptions.

Jalwa-i-Deedar. Hazwar Khan Muhammad Aqil, (Central Record Office, Haiderabad). Ms).

Khajista Kalam. Sahib Rai, (Aligarh Ms).

Kalmat-i-Tayyibat. Letters of Shah Wali-Ullah and Mirza Mazhar Jani-Jana. Lithographed Agra 1914.

Mirat-i-Waridat. Or Tarikh-i-Chaghtai Muhammad Shafi Warid (Aligarh Ms).

Mirat-ul-Haqaiq. Aitmad Ali Khan Rotograph of Badleian Ms. 257.p.135 Part I. (Sitamau).

Majmua-i-Insha-i-Wala Jahi. Chabela Ram. (Central Record Office, Haiderabad Ms).

Majmua-i-Faiz. Sunder Lal. (Central Record Office Haiderabad).

Muntakhab Al-Lubab. Khafi-Khan, Calcutta 1870. Bibliotheca Indica.

Mirat-i-Ahmadi. Ali Muhammad Khan. (Lithographed Baroda 1927).

Muraqqa-i-Delhi. Dargah Quli Khan (Lithographed Taj Press, Haiderabad).

Maktubat-i-Kalimi. Letters of Shah Kalimullah (Lithographed - Delhi).

Risalah-i-Khan-i-Dauran. Anonymous. Rotograph of British M.Ms. (Aligarh).

Sahifah-i-Iqbal. Anonymous - written about 1734 A.D. Rotograph of B.M.Ms.Rieu iii 940 Or 1,900 (Aligarh).

Shah Namah-i-Deccan Or Tarikh-i-Futuhat-i-Asafi. Mir Muhammad Ehsan Ijad. (Asfia Ms.Haiderabad).

Shah Namah-i-Munawwar-al-Kalam. Written in the reign of Muhammad Shah. Shiv Das Lucknawi (Patna Ms).

Siyaq Namah. Anand Ram bib Hir Anand. (Central Record Office Haiderabad).

Shah Namah-i-Ahmadiya. Nizamuddin Ishrat (Asfia Ms).

Shah Wali-Ullah ki-Siyasi Mukutubat. Edited by Prof.K.Nizami. (Lithographed Aligarh).

Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan. Mirza Mubarak-Allah Wadhi entitled Iradat Khan (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Farrukh-Siyar. Muhammad Ehsan Ijad Written 1125 H. Rotograph of B.M.Ms. Rieu I 273 a, Or 25 (Aligarh).

Tarikh-i-Hind. Rustum Ali Written in 1154 H. (Rotograph of B.M.Ms.Rieu.iii 909 Or 1628 Aligarh).

Tazkirat-us-Salatin i-Chaughtai. Muhammad Hadi Kamwar Khan. Written 1132 H. (Patna Ms).

Tazkirah i-Anand Ram. Anand Ram Mukhlis (Aligarh Ms).

Tazkirat-al-Ahwal. Shaikh Muhammad Ali Hazin.

Tazkaratul Maluk. Yahya Khan (Rotograph of B.M.Ms. (Aligarh).

Tazkirah Shakir Khan. Shakir Khan Written in the reign of Muhammad Shah (Rotograph of B.M. Ms.Rieu I.279 b, Add 6585 (Aligarh).

Tarikh-i-Shahdat-i-Farrukh-Siyar wa Julus-i-Muhammad Shahi. Muhammad Baksh Ashob (Patna Ms).

Tarikh-i-Jahan Kushai-Nadri. Muhammad Mahi bin Muhammad Nasir Astrabadi. (Lithographed Bombay 1876).

Tafhimat-i-Ilhiyah. Shah Waliullah (Lithographed Delhi).

S E C O N D A R Y S O U R C E S.

P E R S I A N.

Ausaful Asaf. Munshi Inamullah (Aligarh Ms).

Akhbar Hasan. Muhammad Hasan Raza (Aligarh Ms).

Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan. Life of Adina Beg Khan-B.M.Ms.Rieu iii 1044(a) (Aligarh Rotograph).

Bhao Namah. Ali Ibrahim Khan. (Central Record Office Ms.Haiderabad).

Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujai. Harcharan Das. (Rotograph of B.M.Ms. Rieu 912; Or 1732 Aligarh).

Char Gulshan. Chatman Rai (Patna Ms).

Fakhral Talabin. Saiyid Nuruddin Husain Fakhri. (Prof.Nizami Ms.Aligarh).

Fahrist-i-Temuri. Janki Ram (Aligarh Ms).

Farhat-un-Nazirin. Muhammad Aslam (Aligarh Ms).

Gulshan-i-Ajaib. Ram Singh. (Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms).

Gulshan-i-Sadiq. Shakir Khan (Patna Ms).

Gulistan-i-Rehmat. Mustajab Khan (Aligarh Ms).

Gul-i-Rehmat. Muhammad Yar Khan (Patna Ms).

Gulshan-i-Hind. Abdul Karim (Aligarh Ms).

Hikayat Fateh Nadir Shah.	Anonymous.(Aligarh Ms).
Hind Namah.	Banni Ram Allahabadi (Aligarh Ms)
Haqiqat-Hai-Hindustan.	Lachmi Narain Shafiq (Asfia Ms).
Hadisah-i-Nadir Shah.	Anonymous (Asfia Ms).
Insha-i-Jurat.	Musvi Khan Jurat (Asfia Ms).
Ibrat Namah.	Faqir Khairuddin Muhammad (Aligarh Ms).
Ibrat-Namah.	Aliuddin. (Aligarh Ms).
Imad-us-Saadat.	Ghulam Ali Khan (Lithographed Kanpur 1864).
Iftekhar-ul-Insha.	Faqir Chand Saxena (Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms).
Jang Namah.	Gulab Rai (Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms).
Jalwa-i-Deedar.	Muhammad Aqil. (Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms).
Jame-ut-Tawarikh.	Faqir Muhammad (Lithographed Kanpur 1874).
Jam-i-Jam.	Saiyid Ahmad Khan written in 1255 H.(Patna Ms).
Khazanah-i-Amirah.	Ghulam Ali Azad (Lithographed Kanpur, 1871).
Masir-i-Asafi.	Osmania University Library Haiderabad Ms).
Masir-i-Nizami.	Mansa Ram. (Asfia Ms.Haiderabad).
Majmaul-Insha.	Muhammad Amin (Asifa Ms).

Masir-al-Ikram. Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami (Lithographed, Agra, 1910).

Majma-ul-Tarikh Bad Az Nadirah. Muhammad Amin Abdul Hasan (Aligarh Ms).

Mirat-i-Aftab Numa. Shah Nawaz Khan, (Aligarh Ms).

Mirat-i-Alam. Muhammad Baqa (Patna Ms).

Muraqqa. Mir Muhammad Shah (Central Record Office Haiderabad Ms).

Miftah-ul-Tawarikh. Munshi Danishwar Khan (Lithographed Kanpur 1867).

Maasir-ul-Umra. Shah Nawaz Khan Nawab Samsam-ud-Daulah (Lithographed Calcutta 1888-89).

Makhzan-i-Nukat. Shaikh Muhammad Qaim edited by Molvi Abdul Haque (Published by Anjuman Tarqqi Urdu 1929).

Sawaneh Deccan. Munim Khan Aurangabadi (Asfia Ms)

Shah Alam Namah. Ghulam Ali (Lithographed Calcutta 1912-14).

Siyar-ul-Mutakherin. Ghulam Husain Khan (Lithographed Calcutta, 1836).

Subah-i-Sadiq. Qazi Muhammad Sadiq Khan (Aligarh Ms).

Shah Alam Namah. Ghulam Ali Khan (Lighographed Calcutta 1912-14).

Riyaz-us-Salatin. Ghulam Husain Salim (Lithographed Calcutta 1788).

Tarikh-i-Muzaffari. Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Farrukhabad. Mir Waliullah (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah. Anonymous (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-wa-Sawaneh Afghanistan. Anonymous (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Rehmat Khani. Anonymous (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Frah Baksh. Faiz Bakhsh (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shah. Anonymous (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Ali. Shaikh Muhammad Saleh entitled Qudrat (Patna Ms).

Tazkirah-i-Fatehn-i-Mumlakat-i-Hind. Latif-ur-Rahman Khan (Central Record Office, Haiderabad Asfia Ms).

Tarikh-i-Gohar-i-Shahwar. Anonymous (Asfia Ms).

Tarikh-i-Ahmad. Abdul Karim Alvi (Lithographed Lucknow 1850).

Tarikh-i-Imad-ul-Mulk. Abdul Qadir Khan alias Ghulam Qadir Khan (Patna Ms).

Tarikh-i-Husaini. Imam-ud-Din al Husaini (Patna Ms).

Tarikh-i-Punjab. Ghulam Muhyiuddin (Oriental College Magzine Lahore, August, 1926).

Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghinah. Ahmad Yadgar (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi. Mahmud-ul-Musannai bin Ibrahim Husaini (Aligarh Ms).

Tarikh-i-Sultani. Sultan Muhammad Ibn Musa Khan Durrani (Lithographed Bombay 1881).

Tazkirah-Shura-i-Urdu. Mir Hasan Delhvi (Published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu 1940).

Tazkirah Hindi Goyan.	Ghulam Hamdani Mushafi (Published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu 1933).
Tazkirah Rekhta Goyan.	Fateh Ali Husain Gardezi (Published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu 1933).
Tazkirah Gulshan-i-Baikhar.	Nawab Mustafa Khan Shaifta (Lithographed Naval Kishore).
Tazkirah Chaminstan-u-Shura.	Lachmi Narain Shafiq (Published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu 1928).
Tazkirah Nukat-u-Shura.	Mir Taqi Mir edited by Nawab Habibur Rehman Khan Sherwani (Published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu).
Tazkirah-i-Gulshan-i-Hind.	Mirza Ali Lutf. (Lithographed Aligarh 1934).
Tazkirah-Mir.	Mir Taqi Mir edited by Molvi Abdul Haque (Published by Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu 1928).
Takmilah-i-Siyar-ul-Auliya.	Khwaja Gul Muhammad Ahmadpuri (Lithographed. Calcutta 1763).
Tarikh-i-Bengal.	Salimullah (Lithographed Calcutta 1763).
Zafrah-i-Deccan.	Girdhari Lal (Asfia Ms).

G E N E R A L.

ENGLISH.

Abdul Kadir, A.F.M. — The Indian invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali - Muslim Review, Vol.IV, Nos. 1 and 2 1929.

Abdul Kurreem. — The Memoirs of Khojah Abdul Kurrem (Translated by F.Gladwin) Calcutta 1788.

Beal, T.W. — Oriential Biographical Dictionary, edited and revised by H.G.Keene, London. 1894.

Bellew, H.W. — Afghanistan and Afghans.London, 1879.

Beveridge, H. — English translation of Maasir-ul-Umra, A.S.B. Calcutta.

Calendar of Persian Correspondence - being letter which passed between the (East India Company's servants and Indian rulers and notables; published by the Imperial Record Department of the Government of India. Vol.I.

Cunningham, Joseph Davy. — A History of the Sikhs, from the origin of the nation to the battle of the Sutlej - London, 1849.

Duff, James Grant, — A History of the Marathas. Calcutta, 1912.

Dighe, V.G.	Peshwa Baji Rao I Bombay, 1944.
Elliot, Henry M.	History of India as told by its own historians. London, 1867-77 Vol.VIII.
Perrier, J.P.	History of the Afghans, London, 1858.
Forester, George.	A Journey from Bengal to England, London. 1798 - Vol.I.
Forester, George.	Selections from State Papers, Bombay, Maratha Series, Vol.I. Part, 1.
Franklin, W.	The History of the Reign of Shah Alam, London, 1798.
Gupta, H.R.	Sikh History, Calcutta, 1939.
Gense and Banerji.	Gaikawards of Baroda, Vol.I.
Henway, Jones.	The Revolutions of Persia Vol.II.
Irvine, W.	Ahmad Shah Abdali and his Indian Wazir, Imadul Mulk. Antiquity, 1907.
Irvine, W.	Later Mughuls. Vol.I.II.
Irvine, W.	Army of the Mughuls.
Keene, H.G.	Fall of the Mughul Empire. London, 1887.
Khan, Yusuf Husain.	Asaf Jah, Mangalore - 1936.
Khan, Yusuf Husain.	Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture.
Latif, Syed Muhammad.	History of the Punjab, Calcutta, 1891.

Lockhart, L.	Nadir Shah - London, 1938.
Malcolm, John.	History of Persian - London, 1888.
Mallesen, G.B.	History of Afghanistan London, 1879.
Qanungo, K.R.	History of the Jats, Lahore, 1892.
Reu, B.P.	Glories and the Glorious Rathors.
Sarkar, Sir Jadhu Nath.	History of Aurangzeb - Vol.IV and V.
Sarkar, Sir Jadhu Nath.	Fall of the Mughul Empire Vol.I.
Sarkar, Sir Jadhu Nath.	Mughul Administration.
Sinha, Dr.K.Raghubir.	Malwa in Transition.
Sinha, Dr.H.N.	Rise of the Peshwas.
Sardesai, G.S.	New History of the Marathas.
Sardesai, G.S.	Main currents of Maratha History.
Srivastava, A.L.	First Two Nawabs of Oudh.
Sykes, Percy.	A History of Persia, London, 1915 Vol.II.
Sykes, Percy.	A History of Afghanistan, London, 1940, Vol.I.
Saxena, Ram Babu.	History of Urdu Literature.
Sen, Sundernath.	Military System of the Marathas, Calcutta, 1928.
Sufi, G.M.D.	Al-Minhaj, Lahore, 1941.
Tood.	Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan edited by W.Crooke. Calcutta Edition. Vol.I, II.

M A G A Z I N E S & J O U R N A L S.

Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal.

Indian History Record Commission.

Indian History Congress.

Medieval Inida Quarterly, Aligark.

Islamic Culture, Haiderabad.

U R D U.

Ali, Saiyid Altaf.	Heyat-i-Hafiz Rehmat Khan, Badaun, 1933.
Ali, Ashraf.	Tarikh-i-Afghanistan-wa-Sindh. Bombay, 1845.
Ahmad, Bashiruddin.	Waqait-i-Dar-ul-Saltanat-i-Delhi, Delhi.
Ahmad, Sir Syed.	Asarul Sanadeed.
Ahsan.	Kuliyat-i-Wali, Published by Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu,1927.
Azad, Muhammad Hasan.	Ab-i-Hiyat, Sarfraz Press, Lucknow, 1957.
Chand, Shaikh.	Sauda. Haiderabad.
Husain, Dr.Aijaz.	Mukhtasir Tarikh-i-Adat-i-Urdu, Azad Kitab Ghar, Delhi.
Hashmi, Dr.Nurul Hasan.	Delhi-ka-Dabistan-i-Shaari, Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu,1949.
Khan, Dr.Masud Husain.	Tarikh-i-Zaban-i-Urdu, Azizi Press, Agra, 1957.

Nizami, K.A. — Shah Wali-Ullah ki-Siyasi Maktubat, Aligarh.

Nizami, K.A. — Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i-Chist, Delhi.

M A G A Z I N E S.

Al-furqan — Bareilly.

Maarif — **Lucknow.**

Burhan. — Delhi.

Oriential College Magazine, Lahore.

H I N D I.

Vir Vinod. — Kaviraj Shyamaldassiji.

M A R A T H I.

Selections from the Peshwa Daftar, Vols.1-45 (Published by the Government of Bombay).

Ithasik Patren Yadi Wagara Lekh. (Second Edition) edited by G.S.Sardesai, assisted by Y.M.Kale and V.S.Vakasker. These letters and despatches cover the period from 1659 to 1850 A.D.

Marathanchya Itihasa - Chin Sadhanen. Vols.1-21, edited by Raj Wade and others.

Hingne Daftar 2 Vols. These and two Volumes of No.5 contain despatches of the Maratha Vakils at Delhi and are valuable.

Marathi Riyasat. — G.S.Dardesai, Vol.II 1707-1740.
Vol.III, 1740-1760.